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No. 1653

BACKGROUND TO MAY 1977 ISRAEL

GENERAL ELECTIONS-PART II

NORTH
AFRICA

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ISRAEL

RAKAH PRE-ELECTION MANEUVERS CITED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 6 Mar 77 pp 5, 13 TA

[Article by Ehud Ya'Ari: "RAKAH Is Breaking Out of Isolation"]

[Text] One of the more surprising moves in the partisan preparations toward the elections is the RAKAH initiative to set up a "front" in which additional factors would participate, including circles that describe themselves as Zionist. This is the first time that RAKAH has come out of the historic isolation that has been its lot. The effort which the RAKAH executive is making towards changing its image and toward consolidating a new coalition on the left end of the political spectrum is already beginning to bear fruit. In the course of the last 4 months RAKAH has begun approaching other political factions to find prospective partners--a task which at first looked impossible to party members and outside observers alike. However, at the RAKAH convention in Haifa last December Meir Wilner was already able to declare a readiness for a "front" with Zionist elements on the basis of a minimum platform.

The reason why RAKAH found a responsive ear is found in prosaic causes, even if the emphasis is being put on ideological considerations: The attempt to establish a leftist bloc based on Arye Eliav, members of Moqed, Uri Avneri and other people had failed even before it reached maturity. As a result, and because of Mapam's decision to stay in the alinement, no competing focal point has remained to the left of the alinement--except for RAKAH. On top of that, RAKAH did make some serious calculations--the first of their kind, perhaps, in Israeli politics--and agreed to allot seats in the Knesset to small outside partners at the expense of the aspirations of old party hacks.

Moreover, RAKAH based its negotiations on a platform of six points, devoid of any communist coloring, a platform that speaks in general terms about equality, democracy, the fight against discrimination and for the rights of laborers and women. The one single political plank speaks of peace within the 1967 borders, of the PLO and a Palestinian state--something which today is also postulated by leftists outside the labor party and Mapam. This was

not an easy decision for RAKAH and a great effort--which is still continuing--was needed to explain the new tactic to the party branches. Thanks to strict party discipline, however, no unsolvable problems arose, despite all the wondering and the pique caused by the resolutions of the executive.

The RAKAH leadership is explaining in clear terms why it is ready to make expensive deals, payable in Knesset seats, in return for the privilege of running on one list together with elements which, at best, could contribute only a few thousand votes. RAKAH leaders claim that those will be very profitable in the long run, since they will eventually enable RAKAH to become more involved in political life, freeing it from the ostracism to which it has been subjected all these years. To this day, RAKAH members have not forgotten the searing insult when they--and they only--were refused participation in the "Council for Israel-Palestine Peace." In the future, RAKAH functionaries are saying, it will be difficult to treat us in such a way.

Jewish, but also Arab members, are being told that the tendency should be fought of RAKAH turning into an Arab nationalistic party, with a transparent communist cover and with an artificial Jewish majority at the executive level. The best way to achieve this is to coopt circles from the Jewish left and, in order to maintain the balance, also some Arab elements that have in any event been close to RAKAH.

The split in the "Black Panthers" brought RAKAH its first success, when the group headed by Kokhavi Shemesh and Charlie Biton signed an agreement to merge with the proposed "front." In return, 29-year-old Biton was promised the third spot on the Knesset list. For this group, the agreement represents a rescue; not only does it guarantee them representation in the Knesset, but using the party funds which they are due to get after the elections as collateral--about half a million pounds--they can already borrow money now to rehabilitate their organization (which in fact doesn't exist). The Panthers had no difficulty in accepting the RAKAH platform, since they had already decided 2 years ago, at their convention in Beersheva, for a withdrawal to the Green Line and for the formation of a Palestinian state.

Now RAKAH is waiting for the successful conclusion of contracts with still more Jewish groups:

--The Israeli Communist Organization (AKI), without Shemu'el Mikunis but with Kibbutz Yad Hanna members and with old MAKI functionaries. As far as RAKAH is concerned, this is a means of ending the issue of the 1965 split.

--The Israeli Socialist Left (SSI) [Hasmol Hasocialisti Haisraeli], a group consisting of former SIAH [Smol Israeli Hadash--Israeli New Left] members in Jerusalem, a group in Kibbutz Kerem Shalom and of a number of activists in Tel Aviv, who at the time refused to join "Moqed."

--The Leftist Alliance, [Brit Hasmol], the group of Ya'aqov Riftin and his colleagues.

--Small groups of independent activists like Natan Yelin-Mor, professors 'Amit, Vogel and others.

Members of these groups were among the signatories of the declaration of support for the "Democratic Front for Peace and Equality." The contacts with them are due to end shortly and the prospects are reasonable.

As for the Arab sector, RAKAH failed to conclude an agreement with the committee of local Arab councilmen, but the chairman of the committee, Hanna Muways of Rama, announced officially that he and a number of his associates will support the "front," something they would have done in any case--only now Muways is guaranteed a safe place on the Knesset list.

In addition, RAKAH is now also conducting a dialog with the Druze "Initiative Committee," which opposes conscription into the IDF, and which is led by Imam Farhud and others; with former "Al Ard" ["The Land," former organization of extremist Israeli Arabs] members; with functionaries from Arab student committees; with members of the "Land Protection Committee," as well as with others. It is also to be expected that various village clans linked with RAKAH through municipal coalition accords will also join the "Front." The same can be said of academic organizations and of the businessmen in Nazareth.

There is no doubt that RAKAH is electorally much stronger than all those many groups together. Nevertheless, it will apparently pay them with three certain Knesset seats (to the Panthers, to Hana Muways and to one other Jewish leftist). In addition to that, one RAKAH Druze, Samih al-Qasim, will apparently also get a guaranteed place. Thus, if RAKAH hopes to expand from four to eight seats in the Knesset, there will be no seats for any more representatives from among its members. Although there is a strong desire in RAKAH for seating one woman and one more Arab (probably from the triangle), this problem will have to find a solution in the negotiations that are being held these days.

The tendency is to maintain the fifty-fifty principle between Arabs and Jews within the framework of the front as well, which is the source of further difficulties.

One thing is beyond any doubt: RAKAH is not going to be strengthened by the elections, it has already been strengthened politically.

CSO: 4805

RAKAH HUNTS FOR PANTHERS IN THE JEWISH STREETS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 Mar 77 p 19

[Article by Moshe Meisels]

[Text] RAKAH, which at the start of the election campaign is trying to achieve a "breakthrough into the Jewish streets," has just won a "cut of oil" from the Black Panther movement. The Communist Party, which enjoys much support in the Arab streets because of its extreme political posture in favor of the PLO and the establishment of a Palestinian state, knows well that the Jewish streets are its weakest link. It has exploited the confusion and the divisions within the Black Panthers in order to set up a joint election front with some of them. For the sake of this RAKAH was prepared to make a few gestures: to reserve third place on the Knesset candidate list for Panther Charlie Biton (after the heads of RAKAH, MK (Member of Knesset) Me'ir Wilner and MK Tewfik Taubi), and to relinquish the name RAKAH in the election in favor of "Democratic Front for Peace and Equality."

The heads of RAKAH claim that 16 of the Black Panther heads joined this front, among them Charlie Biton, Kokhavi Shamash, and Yizhaq Ohiyon.

In recent months a penetrating argument has been going on in the RAKAH central committee, on whether to present itself again in the election campaign by the explicit name RAKAH, or to use the name "Democratic Front" in order to attract voters from Jewish and Arab communities that are not identified with the Communists. One of the enthusiastic supporters of this suggestion is the mayor of Nazareth, Toufiq Za'id, who won in a list that did not carry the RAKAH name--a great achievement in the Nazareth municipal elections.

The proposal was strongly opposed, especially among the Jewish leaders, who did not want to relinquish the name and the identification. But once the door was opened to the establishment of a joint front with the Black Panthers and with Arab leaders not identified with RAKAH, it was decided to relinquish the explicit name, and to appear in the elections in a "new mantle."

The election campaign blew the Black Panther movement apart. The Panthers, who first burst into the streets six years ago, on 2 March 71, in a demonstration in Jerusalem, have split into three: Panther chairman Shalom Cohen set up the "Workers and Neighborhoods Front" together with Yehoshua' Perez, former chairman of the Operating Workers Committee at the Ashdod port. Sa'adya Marziano set up the Independent Panther Movement, which is making contacts with Moqed and the Independent Socialists concerning a joint election list. The third part went over to RAKAH.

The Panther movement, which has been distinguished by stormy demonstrations and operations in favor of abolishing the social gap, and by the anti-poverty struggle, participated in 1973 for the first time in Histadrut and Knesset elections. In the Histadrut elections the Panthers achieved an impressive surprise when they received 12,600 votes, 1.66 percent of the votes cast, and a representation of three members (Shalom Cohen, Sa'adia Marziano, and Na'im Gil'adi) and two alternates (Ezra Qamilion and Victor Alush) on the Executive Committee.

In the elections for the eighth Knesset, after the Yom Kippur War, the first split occurred in the Panther ranks. The list headed by Shalom Cohen won 13,500 votes, and did not pass the cut-off percentage. The other list--the Blue and White Panthers led by Adi Malka--got more than 5,000 votes. Then a second split occurred, when Victor Tiyar broke away and was expelled. (Today he is one of the Knesset candidates on the list of the Democratic Party for Change.)

The present threefold split has put an end to a united Panther movement. Sa'adia Marziano, who broke away in the direction of Moqed, claims that at the center of the Black Panthers there was always opposition to a united march with the anti-Zionist RAKAH. He complains that Panther chairman Shalom Cohen surprised his comrades by his public announcement that he was setting up a joint front for the elections with Yehoshua' Perez. Marziano and his comrades remain faithful to the Zionist idea, and are setting up a Zionist movement that is not tied to any ethnic Jewish community.

Meantime a Panther faction is left in a united organization, even though four of its five members (Shalom Cohen, Na'im Gil'adi, Ezra Qamilion, and Victor Alush) belong to the Workers and Neighborhoods Front of Shalom Cohen and Yehoshua' Perez. Undoubtedly there will be a struggle over organizational financing when Sa'adia Marziano and his supporters demand their half. When Charlie Biton, who assured himself of third place on the RAKAH ticket, was asked how he and his comrades could join an anti-Zionist party, he answered: "In the Musrara neighborhood they don't ask about Zionism. They ask about the "gap," about poverty, and why we're getting screwed."

Shalom Cohen and his supporters deny that they surprised the Black Panthers when they set up the front with Yehoshua' Perez. Already four months previously the Panthers' central authority had decided that they were open to

personal and group affiliations to prepare for the elections, and that contacts should be made with active members of worker and neighborhood committees. This "front" assured itself of financing from abroad after Shalom Cohen established branches of Panther sympathizers in Paris and Montreal that are conducting a campaign to meet the financial needs of the election campaign.

The Labor Party is vigilantly tracing the RAKAH strategy of hunting for additional votes in the Jewish and Arab streets. The situation is especially serious in the Arab sector, where RAKAH can win additional votes as a result of the establishment of the "Front" list.

In the Labor Party it was feared that in the current situation the existing Arab lists--Qidma u-Pituah and the Beduin list--were liable not to exceed the cut-off percentage, and in recent weeks much effort was invested in uniting the two lists. This week these efforts were crowned with success and were completed with the establishment of the United Arab list, headed by MK Sif ad-Din Zu'abi, MK Sheikh Hamad abu Rabia', Vice Minister of Agriculture Sheikh Ja'abar Mu'adi, and Muhammad Ahsan al Gadir.

In the Labor Party it is hoped that the United Arab list will maintain its present strength: three seats in the Knesset. Therefore it was decided not to present additional Arab lists that would be liable to compete with the United List.

The writer Mahmud 'Abbasi relinquished his original intention of heading a list of young people and intellectuals, and will apparently run in a choice place on the Alinement list. A second choice place has been reserved for an Arab member of Mapam. Three candidates are competing for this place: the poet Muhammad Watid, Sabri Huri, and Ibrahim Shabat.

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NEW LEFTIST FRONT FORMED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Mar 77 p 15

[Article by Moshe Meisels: "The New Leftist Front Flirts With the Opponents of the Alinement in MAPAM"]

[Text] After severe labor pains, a joint list of extremely dovish parties and personalities was born this past weekend with the name of Shelli (Shalom Leyisrael Veshivyon Hevrati Leyisrael) [Peace and Social Equality for Israel].

This is the first time that such a dovish list has taken under its wing parties, represented in the Knesset and outside it, socialist and non-socialist alike. That which unites these parties and personalities--the Independent Socialists (who have two representatives in the 8th Knesset), Moked (1 representative), Ha'olam Hazeh, a splinter group from the Black Panthers, and personalities from the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace--is a hope for peace through territorial compromises in the borders, the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians, elimination of the social and community gap, and the struggle for social justice.

Also in the past before elections, similar attempts were made to form a joint list of these political elements and personalities, however they all failed because of ideological differences and the placement of the candidates on the list. In this way, this camp has always appeared splintered in the election campaigns while it was successful here and there in bringing a representative onto a list, or it generally failed in its effort to attain the minimum percentage [to avoid invalidation]. In the elections to the 7th Knesset in 1969, the Shalom List appeared, at the top of which stood Gadi Yatsiv, Natan Yellin-Mor, Shaul Fogel, Mordekhai Kefari, and Yehoshua Bar-Hillel. However, it is impossible to compare this representation which was unsuccessful in attaining the minimum percentage at that time with the current combination which is based on, among other things, three outgoing members of Knesset.

The elements and the personalities who have joined in this combination have maintained continuous contact for several weeks now, however they have again encountered those same "obstacles" which failed similar attempts in the past. It was not easy to form a common ideological base between the former members

of Maki in Moked and the Ha'olam Hazeh movement which describes itself as a non-socialistic movement. It was also not with ease that they overcome the placement of the personalities on the joint list of candidates for the Knesset. All the elements and the personalities agreed that MK Liova Eli'av must stand at the top of the list, however he hesitated about responding affirmatively to the request for an extended period of time. After a number of sessions in the Knesset, he felt that the time had come to activate the principle of rotation in regard to him. However, when it was evident that only if he stood at the top of the list would it be set up, he then gave his consent.

The Problem of Placement

In order to solve the problem of placement on the list, it was agreed that the first three candidates--MK Liova Eli'av from the Independent Socialists, MK Meir Pa'il from Moked, Uri Avneri from the Ha'olam Hazeh movement--would not serve a complete session in the Knesset but instead would vacate their places during the course of the session in favor of those who appear after them on the list. The fourth place on the list was designated for one of the Black Panthers, Sa'adya Marziano.

Personalities in the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace such as Maj Gen (Res.) Matti Peled, Dr Ya'akov Arnon, Yossi Amiti, and the writers Amos Kinan, Bo'az Evron, and others took part in establishing the list.

One must not ignore the fact that certain elements still remain outside the camp such as the people from the Shalom List headed by Shalom Cohen and Yehoshua Peretz, the socialist Zionist alliance headed by Ya'akov Riftin, and the Black Panthers headed by Charlie Biton who have established a joint front with RAKAH.

The Shelli list is the result of many and various splits in the peace camp and that of the left in Israel over the years. In 1965, the Israeli Communist Party split up into two camps: RAKAH and Maki. In 1969, one of the heads of the leftist camp, Ya'akov Riftin left MAPAM and established the Pioneering Zionist Socialist Alliance. In 1965, the Ha'olam Hazeh list was established, headed by Uri Avneri and Shalom Cohen. In 1971, Shalom Cohen left the Ha'olam Hazeh movement and joined the Black Panthers movement. In 1973, the Moked list was established from a combination of Maki and the Blue Red movement. In 1975, Maki was dissolved and integrated into Moked. With the establishment of Moked in 1973, an opposition group which calls itself Aki headed by Ms Esther Wilenska, of blessed memory, left Maki. In 1975, the former secretary general of Maki, Shmuel Mikunis also left Maki and joined Aki.

With the approaching elections to the 9th Knesset, there have been additional splits in the left and peace camp--the Black Panthers have fragmented into three camps. A faction headed by Charlie Biton has established a joint front with Yehoshua Peretz; and Sa'adya Marziano has joined the front with Moked.

Also, Aki has established contact with RAKAH, and in the wake of this development, Shmuel Mikunis has left this structure.

However, the splinters and the splinters of the splinters have given birth for the first time to a joint broad camp which will stand for election in one front.

Prospects of the Merger

It is still difficult to evaluate the prospects of the camp in the coming elections. It hopes that the actual merger which was successful for the first time will bring it votes in addition to those which it is assured from the structures which have entered the partnership and from citizens in the population who are prepared for peace with the 1967 borders. It also hopes for backing from the opponents of the Alinelement in MAPAM who, even if they decide not to leave their party, are likely to support the new list in the elections. Already in the previous elections, the Moked list pulled a surprise with the percentage of votes which it garnered both in the kibbutzim of the Hashomer Hatsair and in the kibbutzim of the other movements. This time, the united list is likely to attract more votes as a result of the developments in MAPAM and in the Labor Party. Its heads have recently established contact with some of the leaders of the opponents of the Alinelement in MAPAM, and they still hope that they will be successful in attracting several of them to their list. Thus it is possible that Shelli will disturb to a certain extent the "domestic tranquility" in other lists, primarily in their leftist branches.

5830

CSO: 4805

DEMOCRACY 'GETS UNRULY' IN THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 Mar 77 p 19

[Article by Avraham Tirosh]

[Text] The number of those qualified to vote in the internal elections of the "Democratic Movement for Change," which will be held on 15 March "jumped" surprisingly in the last two or three weeks.

Several weeks ago it was estimated that the number of voters--members who had paid at least IL15 when they registered--would not exceed 12,000 to 15,000. The limiting date for registration that would confer the right to vote was 24 February. On that day the number registered was already estimated at more than 20,000.

On 27 February at a meeting with newsmen, Me'ir Zorea' and Amnon Rubinstein spoke of about 23,000 qualified to vote, according to a computer estimate of 22 February. Two days later they announced that there were 37,000 members qualified to vote, and it can be assumed that the number will reach about 40,000 after all the data are received from the computer.

The heads of DMC are outwardly exultant, but within the movement, on the other hand, the number arouses surprise, fear, and suspicion that the latest "jumps" in membership originate in affiliations organized by several of the Knesset candidates. The rumors increased steadily in the DMC offices in Tel Aviv, and spoke of registration forms that arrived in bundles, and to each was attached the minimum sum of IL15. The suspicion is that the money was paid in many cases by an interested party, an act that is contrary to the rules and the spirit of the movement.

Various candidates have complained officially on this subject to the heads of the movement, and an examination of the registration forms has begun. According to Me'ir Zorea' and Professor Amnon Rubinstein, so far no clear case has been uncovered of anyone who did not join DMC in "good faith," and who did not pay the membership dues himself.

Nevertheless these rumors are disturbing the air somewhat in DMC. They are moreover aimed at Jewish candidates, but mainly against what is happening in the non-Jewish sector, Druze and Arab. In the list of contestants for Knesset seats are six Druzes and Arabs. Also in the list is the former Attorney General Shmu'el Toledano, who is influential in the Arab sector, but who by agreement with the heads of the movement is active in the sector only in centralizing public relations in the local branches.

As for the numbers of Arabs and Druzes who have joined DMC, there are several versions: more than 2,000 according to Amnon Rubinstein; 3500 to 4000 according to Zeidan 'Atashi, one of the Druze candidates; up to 5000, according to Shmu'el Toledano.

Reports reaching us from the Druze villages tell that active members of DMC urged members of other parties to sign up for affiliation in the movement, along with a promise that they would not have to "worry" about the registration fee. According to these reports, members were enrolled who continued to be members of their parties, and indeed, after enrolling in DMC, such persons voted for the Labor party in the election.

Zeidan 'Atashi confirms these reports, but he contends that it was not his people who acted in this way, and that he himself complained three times to the heads of the movement and demanded that they act. He drops hints about other candidates, but in answer to a question he finds it not absolutely impossible that one of those active in his behalf might also behave in this way.

In any case, "If anyone behaves in this way it is a demoralization, perversion, slaughter and destruction of our public image. Anyone who wants to decide among political candidates and issues ought to know what he is subscribing to and what direction he is going in," said Mr. 'Atashi.

"In general I do not want the movement to be flooded by Druze, because that would harm both the movement and the Druze. Two Druze in the first 15 candidates are a danger to the movement's future, because it exceeds the logical proportion. If the affiliation were only personal I would not care if all of the first 15 were Druze, but if this is on a clan or mass basis, it is very degrading, and the Jews will look on it as a form of degradation. Therefore I have acted against it."

In Favor of the Clan

Zaidan 'Atashi, native of the village of 'Usafiya, who has been Consul for Public Relations in New York City and member of the Israel UN delegation, and was formerly a member of the Labor party, said also in this connection that in the Druze and Arab sectors it is definitely possible that the head of a family paid membership dues for the whole family.

Shmu'el Toledano also does not deny the possibility that the head of a clan paid for his whole clan, for this has always been customary in the Arab sector. Both men confirm that they worked for the affiliation of Arab members to DMC--Toledano more indirectly, through persons whom he had influenced to affiliate--in order to strengthen support for their candidates.

Toledano says: "The movement did not forbid me to be in an Arab village. I worked for Arabs and Druze to affiliate with DMC, although not as much as I could have. I influenced important people like Zeidan. I can assume that I will receive votes there, and I am not ashamed of it. Am I forbidden to bring in people from the Arab sector? If they also vote for me, is that bad? Aren't others in the party mobilizing votes in the Jewish sector? Today among the Arabs and Druze in the country there is remorse--why not take advantage of it and bring them into the movement?"

The suspicions concerning organized affiliations are just one unpleasant aspect of the conduct of internal elections in DMC. Democracy in the movement is "getting unruly," and no one knows what the result will be, and the matter is causing tension and confusion. The presentation of the list of contestants--about 150 members--for the places in the Knesset list signaled the shift of the internal personal struggle into high gear.

Everyone is waiting tensely for 16-17 March, after the internal elections, in order to see "what will come out of the Sabbath pudding that was put into the oven." One of the candidates who has prospects of getting a choice place on the list said: "That could be a sad day for the Democratic Movement for Change."

The question that concerns all the active members of DMC today is, what will the list of candidates look like, that will be elected for the first time in internal elections in Israel where "everyone elects everyone." Will all the original shadings and groups that became united in DMC be properly represented? Will not outstanding personalities be pushed aside?

To these questions there are no clear answers, and they arouse fears in all circles within DMC. In many local branches surprises have already occurred in internal elections, such as the election of Moti Te'ori to be chairman of the Tel Aviv branch.

The Right to Appear

Meantime personal and group competition is getting sharper. It expresses itself in various ways: pressure by candidates on the communications media to mention their names (after the movement had prohibited printed campaign propaganda, so as not to discriminate between those with means and those without means); sensitivity to everything written about another candidate; the struggle over the right to appear at gatherings, mass meetings, private parties, etc.

Although on the surface there are no organized factions or groups, in the face of the coming election there exists an organization, in one way or another, of members according to their original pre-DMC groups, in order to support candidates agreed upon. There have already been assemblies of groups whose members had joined the movement together, where the names that the group recommended to its members and sympathizers were designated, evaluated, and graded. In appearances before members at private gatherings, the candidates try to "win souls" not only for themselves but also for other candidates of their group.

What appeared in the past to be the most serious danger to DMC--continuation of internal factional activity--appears now by force of circumstances in another form. Says Professor Amnon Rubinstein: "The organization of groups to support candidates is legitimate and part of the democratic process. When a movement has close to 40,000 members, no pressure group can exert a significant influence on the election results. Therefore I am not afraid of the 'Trojan horses' of other parties."

The list of 150 candidates who will compete for the Knesset places is a little surprising, and has even made some of the contestants feel better. First, the very small number from the preceding alignments, which previously had gone as high as 400 candidates. Second, most of the "explosive names" whose affiliation with DMC was announced in recent months, did not run for the Knesset list. Of all the generals "running," in addition to Yadin there were only Me'ir 'Amit and Me'ir Zorea'. The former senior police officers, Pinhas Kopel and David 'Ofir, did not run. Likewise the former "Mosad" men such as Major General Zevi Zamir are not on the list.

Likewise other personalities such as Dr Israel Katz, Me'ir De-Shalit, Ehud Avri'el, Moshe Ben-Ze'ev (formerly Attorney General), Ya'el Dayan, Prof Mordecai Abbir, Ya'el 'Uza'i (former government secretary), are not running for the Knesset--some because they never intended to at all, and some perhaps because they are disappointed in the uniform and in the personal and group structure that the movement has acquired, and have withdrawn from all activity. Most of them are running for the Council of the movement.

The chairman of the council of Shinui which is now being liquidated, 'Ami Osnat, a member of the governing body of DMC and a Knesset candidate, says: "I am a little skeptical of the people who took the opportunity to jump on the wagon. I support those who carried the cause on their backs for years, and created the foundation of the movement. Today, with the appearance of the Knesset list, the feeling is better."

Five "Names"

There are essentially five "names" that will constitute, it is estimated, the first five on the list, if there are no surprises: Professor Yiga'el Yadin, Me'ir 'Amit, Professor Amnon Rubinstein, Shmu'el Tamir, and Me'ir Zorea'. There is no competition for first place; it is universally accepted

that Yadin will be chosen to head the list. As for the other places in the first five, there is concealed competition, and the order of names given above is entirely random.

If one of these should be pushed out of the first five, Stef Wertheimer is considered to have the best prospects of getting in.

In spite of all that has been said it must be pointed out that the internal competition has not disturbed the personal relationships, as is customary in other parties. Generally the atmosphere that meets someone who enters the DMC offices is good and unique. Three of the central persons in organizational matters and public relations are young, below the age of 30: Gil Leidner, Hanan Melzer, and Gid'on Avital--and a spirit of volunteering and activity predominates.



Photo 1. Zeidan Atashi:
Destruction of our Image

Photo 2. Amnon Rubinstein:
Legitimate thing

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ELECTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE ANALYZED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Mar 77 p 13

[Article by Avraham Tirosh: "Climbing and Descending the DMC Ladder"]

[Text] Those who were happiest with the results of the internal elections of the candidates of the Democratic Movement for Change [DMC] are certainly the people of the former Free Center, three members of which appear in the top 10. The most disappointed are certainly the people of the Oded movement and other bodies which represented the underprivileged levels and the development towns.

The first candidate of Oded, Mordekhai Algarbali, was elected to the 15th place, Tova Sa'adon (who was expected to be successful in the elections) to the 23rd place, and the 3rd, Yehuda Toledano to the 30th place. Among the first 30, there is no representative from the various elements of the Panthers and none from the Lehava movement.

So the head of the Zionist Panthers group which joined DMC, Victor Tayar, who was elected to the 34th place was disappointed to tears at a press conference which DMC conducted on Friday in order to report the results of the internal elections. "This is a tragedy," he said to a MA'ARIV reporter. "The list does not contain anyone from the underprivileged. There are no people who concern themselves with the underprivileged. The problem is important to me, I don't care if I am on the outside. People have been elected who are not reflective."

Question: Wasn't Mordekhai Algarbali elected to the 15th place?

Tayar waves this off with his hand.

Question" Don't you believe that 15 will be elected?

Tayar: "More could have been elected."

Question: Will you remain in the movement?

Answer: "I don't know. We will see if the elections were proper."

Among those who were disappointed to some extent, one can certainly list also the people of the former Shinui [Change]. Among the first 10 candidates, they only have 2--Prof Amnon Rubenstein (2) and Stef Wertheimer (6) like the former Yadin group in contrast to 3 from the Free Center (Tamir - 4, Akiva Nof - 8, Asaf Yagori - 10). Although they have 5 among the first 20, 2 of them--Yisrael Garnit and Yoram Alster--are at the bottom of the second 10, in the 18th and 19th places.

The Success of Tamir

In regard to the Free Center, Tamir has once again shown that he is a clever politician when he saved his movement from deterioration and perhaps from the loss of all representation in the Knesset and led it to its gains in the new structure.

Of the 77 founders of Yadin's Democratic Movement (before its merger with Shinui), only 3 appear among the first 20--Yadin himself at the top, Meir Zorea in 5th place, and Meir [sic] Algarbali in 15th place. In the first 30, there is only 1 more from this group, Bo'az Nahir. The journalist Eli Ayil was a surprise in the 20th place in that he is one of Yadin's people, but he is not from the group of the founders.

The 'Amit group has only two candidates in places which are considered significant: 'Amit himself in third place and David Golomb in 11th place.

At the very top of the list of candidates, there are actually no surprises, and the first six candidates whom everyone expected to win, even in that order, were elected.

The surprises in the ladder of the DMC, are in places 7 - 20. The biggest surprise perhaps is the election of Dr Binyamin Halevi--the first of the members of Knesset who resigned in order to join DMC--to the ninth place. Dr Halevi, a former judge of the Supreme Court and a member of Knesset from the Likud, not only does not have a power group within the movement but also did virtually nothing for his election and did not conduct an election campaign. It appears that a "name" influences the voters.

The election of the two Druze members--'Asad Shafiq and Zaydan 'Atashi--to the 12th and 13th places constituted a certain surprise even though Prof Yadin emphasized that it was an expression of the percentage of the minorities in the population of Israel. The election of Shmuel Toledano to the seventh place was expected when one considers the fact that DMC has about 4,000 Arab and Druze members.

At the press conference on Friday, the leading sextet of DMC was present. They had smiles on their faces and a red flower in their lapels. They stated that they were satisfied with the list which expresses, according to them, the variety of views and gives representation to all the groups within the movement.

Despite all this, it appears that deep down in their hearts, they all had certain reservations about the list of candidates, and they would have liked to have seen at least a part of it to be different. In informal, face-to-face conversations, it was possible to hear them say this.

Will there be defections of those who were disappointed and who dropped down on the ladder of the candidates?

There was a clear hint of such a possibility in the comments of Victor Tayar. The leaders of the movement who sense this tried to pacify him. Yadin declared from the platform: "Although Victor Tayar appears in the 34th place, he must remember that he appears before well-known personalities, professors and activists who have worked in the movement for a long time."

In a response to a question, Prof Yadin said: "I hope that there will not be any defections. All of those who competed are adults, and everyone took a risk. I hope that those who are disappointed will understand that this is the first attempt of its kind and that the composition of the council, where the results were different, is no less important. I will do the best I can to see that they do not defect."

If They Will Be in the Coalition

From an analysis of the composition of the first 30 places (each voter was asked to rank the first 30), the following picture emerges: the former Shinui--seven candidates; the former Free Center--four candidates; the Yadin group, including Oded--seven candidates; the 'Amit group--two candidates; minorities--two; former members of the Citizen's Rights Movement--two (Ram Ron in 28th place and Dr Dina Goren in 29th place). The other six are independent candidates: Shmuel Toledano (7), Dr Binyamin Halevi (9), Shlomo Eliyahu (16), Dr Ramon Harel (22) and Prof Moshe Ma'oz (24). Yigal Yadin believes that the list is a good one and is representative and that the first 30 candidates are a cross section of the components of DMC. He noted that in the elections of 80 representatives of the branches in the national council, the results are different and are influenced by the regional election --and there are 10 who were elected from the development towns.

He also said that his movement's candidates for the government, if DMC forms it or is a member of a coalition, will not only come from DMC members of Knesset but also from professional people who will be selected in accordance with their qualifications. He expressed the hope that the internal elections have brought his movement closer to the status of the force which will form the government with him as the prime minister.

The Top 20

1. Prof Yiga'el Yadin
2. Prof Amnon Rubenstein
3. Maj Gen (Res.) Meir 'Amit
4. Shmuel Tamir
5. Maj Gen (Res.) Meir Zorea
6. Ze'ev (Stef) Wertheimer
7. Shmuel Toledano
8. Akiva Nof
9. Dr Binyamin Halevi
10. Asaf Yagori
11. David Golomb
12. 'Asad Naguib Shafiq
13. Zaydan 'Atashi
14. Mordekhai Wirshovski
15. Mordekhai Algarbali
16. Shlomo Eliyahu
17. Col (Res.) Stella Levi
18. Col (Res.) Yisrael Garnit
19. Yoram Alster
20. Eli Ayil

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YADIN OUTLINES HIS PARTY'S PLATFORM

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 12 Apr 77 p 3

[Article: "Yadin Calls for a More Candid Approach to All Issues and States His Position on Peace Negotiations"]

[Text] "The people are confused, they do not know what the goals of our society are and where we are heading. The leaders are providing the people with neither routes nor directions. Our party can define national goals and lead the people toward their accomplishment." The quotation is taken from proceedings of the Democratic Movement for Change [DMC]. The meetings were held in Jerusalem.

The panel consisted of familiar faces, veteran public figures, headed by Professor Yiga'el Yadin. The first rows were also occupied by "formers" such as former police chief Kopel and former legal adviser to the government Mr Moshe Ben-Ze'ev. There were Moslems, Christians, Druze and representatives from numerous Jewish settlements, young and old.

Opposing Poles

Professor Yiga'el Yadin gave the opening speech. He said that recent demonstrations of welfare people are only the tip of the iceberg. "There are centers of deprived people alongside people enjoying social and economic growth. Contacts between these two opposing poles are bound to blow up, if we do not take this to be one of the central issues of Israeli society today," he said.

"As far as world economy goes," he said, "we are large headed dwarfs; we should not strive to be headless giants. We still own a precious commodity that no other nation does--scientific and managerial ability coupled with a sophisticated, creative mind, which is still cheaper than anywhere else in the world. If we lose this, we have no future. We also have to inform our friends in the U.S. that it is in their interest that we should be able to produce and manage ourselves without direct aid. This is in their interest, no less than it is in ours."

"Tell the Truth"

Regarding labor relations he said that "a strong and courageous government ought to be candid with the people. We will not be able to survive if everyone wants to grab more than he or she deserves. We certainly cannot tolerate a situation where people in vital services can paralyze the country. Courageous steps have to be taken to legislate and implement laws that will prevent this intolerable situation, which can destroy the country. We believe that the Histadrut, too, will support this policy to which there is no alternative."

Too Many Parties

"The present election laws are responsible for the splintering into so many small parties that have no right to independent existence. The present laws make it impossible to have a cabinet with only few ministries. We need new elections, in true democratic fashion, like we need air for breathing."

Peace Negotiations

He added that "we will be willing to give up territories for true peace. My Rhodes experience and discussions with King Abdallah convinced me that we will be better off by negotiating with Egypt and Syria separately in an effort to solve outstanding issues. No solution can be implemented before one is found to our eastern problem, which should be the last one on the agenda."

The Solution to the Palestinian Problem

"It is our opinion that there can be an Arab state to our east, a state whose center will be east of the Jordan. Its name and character should be determined by its people and it is in this framework that the Palestinian problem will be solved. Israel's defense predicates that the Jordan and territories west of it be a security border. It is the problem of the citizens of the east to determine who represents them. These will be the people that we will negotiate with. Any other solution will require Israel to constantly mobilize and its existence to always be in jeopardy."

Thus the opening session ended. There were a few short announcements and something new: the moderator requested the delegates to contribute generously on their way out.

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YADIN STATES CONDITIONS FOR COALITION PARTICIPATION

Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 28 Feb 77 p 9

[Article by Yoel Markus: "Conversation With Yadin: Our Conditions for Joining the Next Government"]

[Text] Prof Yiga'el Yadin is pointing his movement, which is developing its muscle, to great things. In an old room in an old building, where "an abnormal mess" prevails (according to one of the secretaries), and where one of the greater adventures in Israeli politics is ripening, I recently conducted an open discussion with the unelected head of the Movement for Democratic Change. From what was said, I gathered that the objective was to draw strength from the two largest parties in order to achieve a position of decisive influence for the rapid change of the structure of government. He has not yet excluded the possibility that in a certain situation, he might even be asked to put together a government.

Yadin says that if we cannot effect any change, we will not join any coalition. In this he is categorical. In response to my question as to whether 15-20 mandates would be considered by him to be a position of influence, he responded affirmatively. If we get such results (although forecasters have recently said we will do even better), we will set three conditions for our joining a coalition: a) new elections (regional) will be held within a year or two; b) until the elections, it will be a functional government which will give priority to domestic affairs, with the allocation of appropriate resources, in which will serve a minister for economic affairs (the present minister of finance is really only a minister of budgets) and a minister for social affairs (what is called in English welfare). These two ministers will coordinate all of the activities of all ministries touching on them; c) until the elections, this government will do nothing in the area of security which contradicts our views on those matters.

In light of these conditions, Yadin sees several possible scenarios. MAPAM will oppose the matter of elections, but it may be possible to reach an agreement with the Alinemet on condition that a third party does not join the coalition. A partnership with Likud or the NRP is not acceptable because of the gap on the issue of the territories. Of course, the elections will determine the ultimate influence of Democratic Change.

Within his scenarios, Yadin sees two possibilities: a breaking apart of the Alinement and Likud, and the establishment of a coalition composed of Labor, Democratic Change, and the Liberals (in this composition, Yadin does not exclude the possibility of the prime ministry being in his hands). Yadin says that there is also a possibility that no party will want to accept his conditions. In such event, some minority government would be installed, but would be unable to hold its position, and new elections would be unavoidable. In each of Yadin's scenarios, the added elections in a year or so hold a central position.

Throughout the conversation, Yadin insists that we must free ourselves from the traditional terminology. The Mapai'ization of Democratic Change? Foolishness, he says. We must get away from the terminology which has been current until now. It is not clear to me today what is right and what is left, what is socialism and what is capitalism. We have to create something new, free of patterns. If we insist on definitions, he defines his movement as social-democratic. When he says something new, he means that the next government will bury itself in domestic affairs. Those who say that we should focus the elections on war or peace, Rabin or Begin are talking vanity and silliness, because our struggle (with friends) will not be over the question of whether we need war or peace, but how much we can stand up to the "Rogers Plan."

We have to prepare a new domestic basis for a stand, according to Yadin. When he says "a stand" Yadin emphasizes that he does not believe in austerity, but rather in a new economic deployment. There is nobody who is not in favor of social justice, but there is also nobody who is opposed to the economy being built on entrepreneurs.

Yadin says that it is a fact that in 29 years of the state, we have not solved the social problem, and we have not even started out on a road leading to a solution. According to the Katz Report, there are 32 danger points in our society which we are treating with the cheapest medicine--money. But the sense of neglect remains. If we do not do something serious, these flash-points will break out in chaos, since a large part of the population lives with a sense of being neglected and a lack of motivation. If nothing is done, we will not have the ability to make a stand when it is necessary. If we do not solve the fundamental problem we will lose potential of the first order. Sephardic junior officers have not solved any problem, and have not enabled those communities to flourish. Prof Yadin continues to state his position on the need for two parallel teams in government: one for foreign affairs, and one for domestic affairs, headed by a special deputy prime minister.

Elections within a year or two are preferable to internal problems, but will they allow us to do all of this? I ask. Prof Yadin: It is foolish to assume that '77 will be the year of the solution. Perhaps it will be the beginning of a dialogue. Of course, Israel will not be able to achieve a settlement unless there is a strong government, a strong quality of life, and a strong economy. Until we achieve that (after a change in the structure of the government), we will have to wait for the movement and the waves. We must first bring ourselves to a state of domestic strength and readiness.

And Carter, will he be so patient? Yadin says that he will present the American president with a copy of his own speech in which he exhorted the people to look inward. "I will change the names and say to him: what you are asking for your country we also need. I will try in any way to do this."

In the sphere of government structure, Yadin intends to achieve three things, if he gets in power: a state constitution for the improvement of the democratic situation within the parties; a cabinet government in which it is not the number of ministers which is decisive, but the number of ministers who accept the national decisions (there is no need for every minister to be in the cabinet); elimination of the bureaucracy by creating an additional rank between the citizen and the central authority.

Although the first priority of Yadin is a rapid change in government structure and a gradual change in social and economic ideas, he is giving his attention to the broad political issues. In relations with the U.S., Yadin would follow three measures. First he would sit with the heads of the government for a dialogue, and ask them just what are the interests of the U.S. in the existence of Israel? Is it because there are Jewish voters? Because of the Bible? Because of democracy?

Yadin says: I would first hear what they have to say, and then I would convince them that there is a higher interest for the U.S. in Israel's existence. And if I convinced them, I would move to the next issue. If there were no U.S. interest in Israel's existence, of course the discussion would take another form. Yadin believes that with Carter there is room and an opening for such a dialogue. For the second stage, he says: I would propose leaving the PLO aside, and would begin a dialogue with Egypt in order to examine the requirements of each side and what each side is ready to concede until we reached the Palestinian question. If we made progress, I would take similar steps with Syria--not for the purpose of signing, but simply to clarify. Later we would recess, and begin to consider what will be with the next generation. At this stage, we would include the Palestinian problem. Thus, after a dialogue on territory, we would begin a dialogue on the time dimensions. If we agreed on what would be in the next generation, it would be possible to begin to talk about the next 5, 10, or 15 years.

Yadin says that within all of this, the most important thing is to clarify for ourselves the borders which we want. We cannot show our hand, lest we lose bargaining cards. But our principle is clear: "a democratic Jewish state." For intelligent people, this means that we will not agree that in the long term there will not be a Jewish state or a democratic state. It is foolish to ignore the Palestinian problem--it exists and it is a time bomb--but it must be solved within the framework of links to Jordan. Yadin believes it is a mistake to view Husayn as a partner. It is not for us to determine whether Husayn or the PLO will control the other side. On the contrary, maybe Arafat (as the ruler of Jordan) would be a better partner.

And if the Arabs do not accept any of this scenario? We have to decide for ourselves what it is that we want, and to try as hard as possible to reach it. In all of his conversation, Prof Yadin uses understatement, and he rejects no possibility or scenario. He is filled with admiration for the volunteer spirit and the great response which his new movement has found among the public. He promises a renewal for those who support him: he will not budget from principles, even for seats.

In time, it will be interesting to see the meeting between theory and reality.

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MOST OF VETERANS OF NRP HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY YOUNGER MEMBERS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Mar 77 p 19

[Article by Avraham Tirosh: "Young Revolutionaries in NRP Settle for Half a Revolution"]

[Text] There were three veteran leaders in the upper echelons of the NRP in recent years--MK Dr Yosef Burg, MK Dr Yosef Rafael, and MK Dr Zerah Wahrhaftig. What happened to the three of them the night before last, in the secret elections of representatives of the NRP for the Knesset, symbolizes the change which has occurred in the NRP.

MK Dr Burg held his position, and he was established as first among equals, with most of the party more or less united behind him. He thus realized his old dream. MK Dr Yizhaq Rafael was completely removed from the Knesset list, and it is possible that he has come to the end of his political road. MK Dr Zerah Wahrhaftig was removed by his faction from candidacy for the Knesset, but by virtue of the appreciation which many in the NRP feel for him, he succeeded in being elected to the list, although he holds eighth place, which certainly does not suit his position.

What happened to these three gives the essential picture of what is happening in the religious party: a semi-revolution of the "second generation" and the younger people. From the beginning, the idea was to bring about the departure of the whole veteran leadership. When it became clear that such an attempt might fail, and that it would be preferable not to "push for the end," the course was changed, and the goal became to change by removing part of the veteran leadership (read: Dr Rafael), and the creation of an integrated leadership between the other part (read: Dr Burg) and the younger people. The ultimate goal would be the transfer of party leadership, in an orderly fashion, from Dr Burg to the second generation, headed by MK Hamar, in the course of the next Knesset.

So, the pair which now heads the NRP list for the Knesset, Burg and Hamar, symbolizes more than everything else the integration of the veterans and the younger people. Clearly, the situation as it has developed has strengthened

greatly the influence of Hamar and younger circles, and it may be assumed that by elections for the tenth Knesset, he will be the single leader of the NRP. In fact, except for Burg and Wahrhaftig, no other veterans are represented on the NRP list, and most of the candidates, from all factions, are younger people.

The faction regime has ruled the NRP for decades. But this is the first time that a minority faction has been turned out by the strength of the majority from all representation on the Knesset list. The partners to the four-way agreement in the NRP (the factions of "Lamifne," "Renaissance Movement," the moshavim, and until recently Hakibbutz Hadati) claim that the Rafael faction has representation on the list in the form of MK Aharon Abu-Khatzira, and the one time director general of the ministry of Religion, David Glass, both of whom left the faction because they did not agree with MK Rafael's intention to leave the NRP at a certain stage. The Rafael people counterclaim that these two people are supported by only one quarter of the faction members, while the majority remains in support of Dr Rafael, and that he should be represented on the list.

In fact, the struggle within the NRP for the last year has focussed around the image of the one time minister of religion, MK Dr Yizhaq Rafael. He has been involved in dispute almost from the time that he went on the political stage. His supporters praise his personal talents, organizational ability, and executive ability, his education, his devotion to friends, and his success in all posts which he has filled. His opponents see him as unreliable politically, and claim that certain acts have been linked to his name which are unseemly for a leader of a religious party (or for any other leader).

The process which led to the removal of Rafael and his people the other night began close to a year ago, in a modest cafe called the Oslo, near the Yarkon Bridge, not far from the NRP House in Tel Aviv. A group of young people from various factions met there and began to develop a plan for replacing the whole veteran leadership. Present at the meeting were MK Zevulun Hamar and Yehuda Ben-Meir from the "Young people's Circle," Rabbi Moshe Solomon of the "Lamifne" faction, and Avraham Satran of Hakibbutz Hadati. Attending later discussions were young people from various factions, such as MK Aharon Abu-Khatzira of the Rafael faction, Yisra'el Navon of the "Lamifne" faction, and others.

In the course of time, this group came to be known as the "Oslo group," and its plans as the "Oslo plan." The idea surfaced when David Glass said that in his opinion, if MK Burg were ready to leave, then MK Rafael would act in the same way. Thus the plan was born according to which all of the younger people would work within their factions for the departure of the veteran leaders--MK's Rafael, Burg, and Wahrhaftig--by either delicate or more forceful methods, depending on the need.

The goal was to change the face of the NRP, along with its image and its Knesset list, so as to attract the religious intelligentsia and the youth who had become estranged from it in recent years. Avraham Satran of Hakibbutz Hadati even articulated a plan according to which each of the three largest factions in the NRP would settle for only two members of Knesset (instead of the three coming to each), while the six other places of the 12 first spots would be set for representatives of the moshave, the kibbutzim, the Movement for Religious Women, and three agreed upon candidates, all of whom would bring about a definite change in the face of the NRP list.

At a certain stage, the group even reach an official formulation of its principles, goals, and the distribution of posts within the party. At this point it was apparent that the success of the plan depended upon the departure of the three veteran leaders, and that the "Oslo group" would disintegrate if the attempt would be to remove only one of them. But in time, things changed, both because of sophisticated and planned moves by the young party people, as well as because of intra-party developments.

On the one hand, leaks about the meetings of the young people caused a rift between MK Rafael and David Glass and Aharon Abu-Khatsira. On the other hand, negotiations opened between the young people of the NRP and the "Lamifne" faction regarding an agreement of mutual cooperation, to replace the agreement between "Lamifne" and the Rafael faction since the last internal elections. This other agreement "exploded" because of serious complaints by "Lamifne" against Rafael and Glass--at that time the minister of religion and the director general of the ministry--alleging that they had ignored "Lamifne" when setting up the religious councils.

At these various stages, for some reason MK Rafael did not show his political senses and his tactical abilities, and he even made some missteps. It seems that he did not take seriously the crisis with "Lamifne" and the discussions conducted by the younger people, and he did not correctly estimate the results liable to flow from these two things. Ultimately, the crises between the Rafael faction and the "Lamifne" faction, and the personal crisis between him and Abu-Khatsira and Glass, helped the young people to steer the course of events in the direction of an alliance between all of the factions of the NRP, including the splinter of the Rafael faction headed by Abu-Khatsira and Glass, the goal being to remove only Rafael, but not other leaders.

The question is: is the removal of one man, as senior within the party as he may be, a change in the face of the party sufficient to reattract thousands of voters who had become alienated? Is Rafael the one who deters potential voters for the NRP from voting for it?

The people who removed him, especially the young people in the NRP, believe that the answers to these questions are affirmative. They claim that many people in religious academic circles, in the national seminaries, and in the settlements have said that they will not vote for the NRP if MK Rafael appears on the list. On the other hand, the Rafael people feel that the NRP list will suffer from the removal of its leader, especially if he runs on an independent list, and they predict only 6 or 7 seats won.

Yet it is clear that even the circles close to the party which support the removal of Rafael, such as Hakibbutz Hadati (which announced that it will not send a representative to the Knesset) and the circle of settlement people, the heads of the seminaries, the educators and academics who gathered around the head of the seminary Dr Etzion, Rabbi Chaim Drukman, and the head of the Shapir regional council, Moshe Moshkewitz--they are not satisfied with the change effected by the removal of Dr Rafael from the list. So now there is talk about placing an agreed upon candidate in second or third place on the NRP list. Among the names mentioned are those of Rabbi Chaim Drukman, and Rabbi Tsefania Drori, the rabbi of Kiryat Shemona. In this way, the young people of the NRP are seeking to attract the people of Gush Emunim, and these two rabbis are acceptable to them, and to win the support of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook.

What will MK Dr Yizhaq Rafael do now? After the results of the internal elections were announced, in which Rafael was defeated by Aharon Abu-Khatsira by 103 to 73 votes, Rafael seemed depressed and disappointed, and preferred to go home and not even participate in the caucus of his own faction. He said that the secretariat of the faction would convene by the end of the week in order to pass a resolution.

But in consultations which already have been conducted since the internal elections, several possibilities have been raised:

- 1) Leaving the NRP and appearing on an independent list, which according to the heads of the faction might win as many as two seats, relying on support in the development cities, in the "second Israel," and perhaps even among certain orthodox circles, whom Rafael aided when he was minister of religion.
- 2) Legally challenging the validity of the elections of representatives for the Knesset, the principal claim being that there is no legal basis for the arrangement under which all six members of the executive committee can propose a candidate for the Knesset (it was in this way that the candidacy of MK Abu-Khatsira and David Glass was proposed).
- 3) Continuing a passive membership in the party, with no participation in the elections or NRP activities.

There is a group of young people which has organized to turn back the clock and cancel the removal of Rafael. The prospects for their success are meager. It is difficult to predict the next steps to be taken by the fallen leader. He himself said immediately after the elections that this might be the end of his political career. On the other hand, it is possible that the defeat within the party may push him to a last effort to save his honor by making an independent appearance in the elections for the Knesset--if he is convinced that he has any prospects.

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CSO: 4805

BEGIN CLAIMS LIKUD CAN CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT

Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 15 April 77 p 5

[Campaign ad for Likud leader, Menahem Begin]

"Number One Force--The Likud"



"There is only one force in Israel, and it has the power to change the government."

ASSESSMENT OF ALLON'S CHANCES BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 April 77 p 14

[Article by Yehiel Lemur: "Allon's People Computed--and Discovered Only 40 Percent"]

[Text] Candidate for the prime ministry? Number 2 who is also charged with the function of defense minister? Leader of a new movement which is separating from the Alinement and is "running" separately in the elections? These questions at whose core stands the image of the deputy prime minister and foreign minister Yigal Allon have been asked since Thursday night when Yizhaq Rabin announced his resignation.

In the eyes of many, the surprise announcement of the prime minister transformed Yigal Allon to the heir of the throne of leadership of the "Rabin Camp" in the Labor Party. Moved by sharpened political conceptions on the matter of a possibly renewed contest over the leadership of the party between Shimon Peres and Yigal Allon, the first of the party workers had already begun to appear at the office of the foreign minister in Tel Aviv at midnight on Thursday.

The two personal aides of Allon, Danny Koren and Chaim Braun, saw to the opening of the small office and when it quickly became apparent that the few rooms would be insufficient to contain all who had come--and those who were still expected--it was decided to "annex" a few rooms from a neighboring office--the finance ministry.

The atmosphere at the foreign minister's office that night was one of "on to the contest." Micah Goldman, the young chairman of the Kfar Tabor council, and who was one of the activists on the staff of Yizhaq Rabin, began to go over the lists of the party central. Although the hands of the clock pointed beyond midnight, everyone began to dial and wake people up to find out "Are you with us or with our enemies?"

On the morning of Friday, Yigal Allon himself began talks with central persons in the Labor Party. One of those talks was with Minister of Agriculture and Communications, Aharon Uzan. "Yigal telephoned me and told me that he

wants to let me know, in a friendly manner, that he is a candidate," Minister Uzan later related. "I replied that he was a good candidate but that this time the Moshavim movement would vote as a unified bloc." In other words: this time the Moshavim movement in its entirety would back Shimon Peres.

Additional telephone conversations indicated that if Allon were in fact to decide to "put up his mitts" and enter the arena of contest on the party leadership, he would not succeed in mustering the required majority. "I'm not yet prepared for a contest, and I don't have enough time for it," Allon admitted to one of the many delegations which had come to him less than 48 hours before the party central assembled.

Time Is Short

But quite a few of Allon's supporters who had conducted innumerable computations, came to the minister with optimistic assessments. "It's possible to garner at least 40 percent of the votes," they repeatedly contended, "but if we want a contest we have to decide on it quickly, for the time is short and there's much to be done."

These workers had been encouraged by the fact that people who were known as supporters of Shimon Peres and had even worked considerably for him while heading for the Rabin-Peres contest, were now telephoning to temporary headquarters of Allon to say quite openly: "We're for Allon." Others said that "we don't want a large victory for Peres," adding that they prefer to explain their stand over the telephone lest, if they come in person to Allon's headquarters, that might "expose" them to the other side.

Those close to Allon tried, during those hours, to read the Battle Map, as they called it, inside the heavy mists. Meanwhile, many continued to come and to visit the office. Lashiluv people came and went, each one with the request: "No contest. The completeness of the party must be preserved." Secretary of Labor Party in Jerusalem, Uzi Baram, entered the building and admitted: "I've come to mediate."

MK Adi Amorai explains: "We've already proved that we're a democratic party. A contest isn't necessary, rather the integrity of the party must be preserved."

From every side came ideas, proposals and advice. One group called upon Allon to come out in open contest for leadership of the party, for even if he lost with a 40:60 percent result it would establish his status as Number 2. Others argued that undertaking a contest would mean closing beforehand the option of withdrawal, since there are groups which are seeking to withdraw if Peres is to be named leader of the party so that it would be untenable to agree to a contest without also agreeing to accept the consequences.

Others came and said: Through agreements it is possible to assure not only Allon's status as Number 2 but also the interests of the people of the "Rabin Camp."

Although the trend not to contest continued to crystallize, the last word had not yet been spoken. Loud voices from among the people of Hakibbutz Hameuhad were demanding withdrawal, just as other voices were calling upon Allon to lead those wishing to withdraw and to unite them into a large camp, were perhaps what brought about that on Friday night when Yigal Allon met with a delegation of Hamishmeret Hatze'irah, he was saying to them: "I'm still considering." One of the young people had asked: "Is it possible to go to talk to Peres?" And Allon had answered: "You have the right to go and talk, but there is no proposal to be attributed to me."

During all the meetings that were taking place on Friday night, Allon repeatedly stressed that "there are Rabin people to be concerned about" and he said, time after time: "I am not out for anything personally. I have not demanded any portfolio. What is important is the integrity of the party. That is the thing that matters to me."

Up to 11 o'clock on Sabbath eve, Allon's headquarters still swarmed like a beehive. On Sabbath morning, Allon's devoted secretary, Rohele, arrived early to put the office in order. Some time after her, Allon arrived accompanied by his advisor Eliahu Hassin, and after them Labor's General Secretary Meir Zarmi, David Calderon and Avraham (Katzele) Katz.

Urgent Telegrams

The meeting goes on and other than the personal aids who come into the room, almost no one interrupts the discussion. Rohele reports to Allon about urgent telegrams on security matters and wants to make coffee for herself and for those at the meeting. But it turned out that the coffee had run out. With no stores open she sought "logistic support" from... the headquarters of Shimon Peres. "No problem, come on over," they told her on the telephone, and Rohele rushed over to fetch a bag of coffee from the other camp.

At the same time Allon's aid, Chaim Braun, was standing in a corner talking with those arriving. Suddenly the secretary Nitza was heard calling out: Chaim, someone else on the phone for you." That was the fifth call within a few minutes, and only after it did Braun exclaim: "What's going on here? They're all asking if Yigal Allon has been admitted to the hospital." At that very time Allon was sitting in the vegetable-laden courtyard conversing with Zvi Kesseh. No one even bothered to tell him about the rumor that suddenly spread about his "hospitalization."

In Allon's office, Zarmi and Calderon continue to "boil down" a compromise proposal which will be acceptable to all sides. Danny Koren, personal aide to Allon, was asked to go to an anteroom and run off a first draft of an overall agreement as well as a proposal for a list of candidates for the Knesset --according to which Allon would be Number 2 and Defense minister in a government to be headed by Shimon Peres, if it materializes.

"The Battle Map"

Zarmi, Calderon and Katz left. Ya'akov Tzur, secretary of Hakibbutz Hame'uhad arrived at the office, likewise Moshe Harif, secretary of Ihud Hakvutzot V'Hakibbutzim. Minister Yisrael Galili, Danny Rosolio and MK Avraham Gevelbar also arrived. More consultations behind closed doors. And outside there were already those waiting for other consultations: MK Ora Namir, Uri Agmi, Yosef Nevo, and others. Everyone was consulting. Everyone talking within rooms and in the corridors.

By then it turned out that there would be no contest for the leadership of the party. The "battle map" had become clear but the mist was still heavy. The central question was whether it was possible to arrive at agreements and arrangements that would prevent separations and withdrawals? It had become clear to everyone that the solution to that problem was in a Peres-Allon meeting. It was Peres who telephoned Friday evening to propose that the meeting be held the next day. And when the first meeting was held, on Saturday afternoon, and ended with no results, and after it an additional meeting--it was on "neutral ground": the office of the prime minister in Tel Aviv....

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LABOR PARTY SEEKS TO PRESERVE ALINEMENT WITH MAPAM

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 April 77 p 13

[Article by Moshe Meisles: "'Grab What You Can'--in the Struggle Over Composition of the 'Leadership Team' of the Labor Party"]

[Text] Leaders of the Labor Party and MAPAM worked at week's end with a stopwatch in hand. The hands of the watch moved rapidly toward the time for presenting lists of nominees to the Knesset. Pressure of time did not permit many discussions, vacillations, and exertions. The moment of truth had arrived and there was need to decide at once.

Shimon Peres, who from the start had appeared to be the candidate against time. He carried on feverish consultations with those around him, conducted talks with Yizhaq Rabin, Abba Eban, General Secretary of MAPAM Meir Talmi, General Secretary of the Labor Party Meir Zarmi, and others. In addition he sat for many hours with the arrangements committee of his party, which is "boiling down" the Labor Party's list of candidates which must be presented today for approval to the party central.

From the start Mr Peres sought to avoid a contest for head of the list. He has aspired to be the agreed upon candidate of the party on the strength of the result of the vote at the party convention in which he contended with Yizhaq Rabin and lost by a small margin of votes. He has also sought to prevent the departure of MAPAM. He has not wished to be a factor for a struggle and fragmentation in his party and for the dismantling of the Alinement during a difficult election campaign.

The Sponsors

Sponsors operated without letup. First and foremost, Secretary General of the party Meir Zarmi, MK Yosi Sarid and Uzi Baram of the Peres camp, Minister Aharon Uzan and Na'ava Arad of the Yizhaq Rabin camp, as well as David Calderon and others. They sought to convince Yigal Allon to concede the candidacy, and Shimon Peres to accept a proposed compromise which would assure unity of the party and perhaps also the completeness of the Alinement.

Thus a proposed compromise on a new steering crew was born: Shimon Peres, Yigal Allon and Abba Eban. Shimon Peres--candidate for prime minister, Yigal Allon--candidate for deputy prime minister and defense minister, and Abba Eban--candidate for foreign minister. But there were demurrers within both camps, and the first round of talks broke up with no result.

Yigal Allon weighed the prospect of a contest. He received commitments of support from persons and groups. But from the start it was clear that, in wake of the situation which had been created at the party convention and in its ranks, the majority in the central were leaning toward Shimon Peres.

For 4 hours the secretariat of the Kibbutz Hame'uhad dealt with the situation amid a great deal of tension. There were those, such as Yizhaq Ben-Aharon and others, who saw no escape from fragmentation or from appearance on an independent list or on a combined list with MAPAM. In their view, the central should have required Yizhaq Rabin to withdraw his resignation because the penalty on such an infraction, while it is a serious infraction of public esthetics, need not be "political assassination." Ben-Aharon said that he can see no prospect whatever for agreement and compromise with a list headed by Shimon Peres and even hinted again that in such an event he would have to weight his future path.

Minister Yisrael Galili, secretary of the Kibbutz Hame'uhad Ya'akov Zur, MK Avraham Gibelver, former Kibbutz Hame'uhad secretary Danny Rosolio, firmly rejected any notion of separation and fragmentation. They expressed their view that such a step just before elections could put an end to the hegemony of workers' power and pave the way for "rule of the right."

The Vacillations

Allon announced that he would lend no hand to fragmentation of the party. He even revealed vacillations as to whether a contest just before elections would not cause destruction of the party. Thus, an interim position was summarized and submitted to the sponsors. Yigal Allon was prepared to avoid a contest and reach an agreement on three conditions: He was to be named as number 2 in the party and to fill the position of deputy prime minister and defense minister in the coming government; Minister Yisrael Galili to be included as a candidate in the Knesset candidates' list; and the representation of Ahdut Ha'avodah in the Knesset to remain in force as heretofore.

When those close to Peres heard the conditions which had been formulated at the Kibbutz Hame'uhad, they gathered at the home of Peres. Even there opinions were divided. There were those such as MK Yizhaq Navon, MK Yosi Sarid, Eliahu Speizer, Dov Ben-Meir, Uzi Baram and others who contended that unity of the party must be preserved and it would be advisable to give the defense portfolio to Yigal Allon. Their view was that Shimon Peres should at this time, for party and electoral considerations, demonstrate an ability to preserve the completeness of the party, something which would also tend to open the door to the completeness of the Alignment. There were those, such as

Minister Gad Ya'akovi, Aharon Haral and MK Micah Harish who expressed specific reservations. The question of the inclusion or non-inclusion of Yizhaq Rabin on the candidates' list for the Knesset was also raised. It was decided to clarify the question with him.

Peres himself said that it would be natural for Yigal Allon to appear in second place on the candidates' list if he waived his candidacy [for prime minister]. Should he decide to vie, he [Peres] would vie with him.

A meeting between Peres and Allon was scheduled at first for 9 o'clock yesterday morning, but because of the conditions and the reservations in the two camps it was postponed until 3:30 in the afternoon.

In the meantime, Secretary General of the party Meir Zarmit met with Shimon Peres in the morning, seeking to agree with him to a compromise proposal which would satisfy Yigal Allon and his people and bring about a dialogue that might prevent a contest. It was decided to have the arrangements committee reexamine the question of the failure of Yisrael Galili, Moshe Wertman and Ben-Zion Halfon in the secret ballot at the party Central and that a judicial investigation of the matter would be undertaken.

After the name of Abba Eban was also brought up as a possibility of a compromise candidate, Shimon Peres met with Abba Eban for a talk in order to assure continuation of the unwritten alliance between them. MK Eban told me after the meeting: "I have not changed my mind, I supported Shimon Peres and I won't abandon him now."

Peres also held a meeting with prime minister Yizhaq Rabin. Mr Peres expressed regret over what had taken place and promised to support him for as long as he serves as prime minister. Both agreed that there is to be no lapse in the work of the government following what had taken place and whatever would take place today at the party central. The authority of the prime minister and the cooperation between him and Shimon Peres would be preserved and continued. Rabin promised Peres that if the party backed him, he would support him and it during the election campaign.

It seemed that what worried Shimon Peres mostly was the position of MAPAM. In his effort to preserve the completeness of the Alinment he met with MAPAM General Secretary Meir Talmi and urgently requested him to act for the continuation of the Alinment if he is to be chosen to head the list of the Labor Party. He contended that it would be a grave error and responsibility for MAPAM to dismantle the Alinment. Such a grave error does not so much endanger the Alinment as it does the hegemony of the workers' rule. He contended that the Labor Party has met the demands of MAPAM and that he would enforce the resolutions of the party convention. He requested an appearance before the MAPAM central which is to gather tomorrow for a decision. He contended that there is no reason for MAPAM to dismantle the Alinment. There is no change whatever in the platform of the Labor Party and in its leadership triumvirate in which there will be "two doves."

The Clarification

Talmi explained to Peres that MAPAM is not negating him personally but that it has a fundamental position which is associated with the resolution of the MAPAM convention, according to which it will support the head of a list who is committed to territorial compromise in Judea and Samaria.

At the MAPAM summit meeting (Rikuz) all members, including Ya'akov Hazzan, were of the opinion that the resolution of the MAPAM convention must be enforced regarding appearance for the elections on an independent list. Minister Victor Shem-Tov explained that it is possible that the independent list of MAPAM would contribute to establishment of a reinforced government at whose center the workers' parties would find themselves. Leaders of MAPAM conducted feverish consultations which included the leaders of the Kibbutz Ha'artzi and Mrs Golda Meir, Minister Yisrael Galili, Minister Chaim Zadok, Minister Yigal Allon, Secretary General of the Labor Party Meir Zarmi, etc. All urgently requested MAPAM not to dismantle the Alinement but leaders of MAPAM explained that the resolution of their convention is unequivocal and there is no longer any possibility of digressing from it.

MAPAM has already applied to the chairman of the Knesset committee Ari Ankorian with a request to register MAPAM as an independent faction in the Knesset. Legally, MAPAM was required to do so 48 hours before submission of the list of candidates, otherwise it is not possible to submit an independent list with all the privileges that stem therefrom.

MAPAM would have to make personal changes in its independent list and it is believed that Minister Victor Shem-Tov, MK Dov Zakin and even MK Eliezer Ronan will be advanced to the top of the list in order to give it strength.

Organizational Activity

MAPAM has already begun vigorous organizational activity to appear on an independent list and is maintaining contacts with persons from other parties and non-party persons in an effort to have them appear on its list. Yesterday there were also consultations among the leaders of the Kibbutz Ha'artzi, Ihut Hakibutzot V'Hakibbutzim and Hakibbutz Hame'uhad to consider the situation which has been created in the Labor Party and in the Alinement, in an effort to formulate a common position.

In the meantime Meir Zarmi has been acting all this time in favor of a dialogue which would prevent a contest at the party central. Many persons of the Yizhaq Rabin camp gathered yesterday noon at the office of Yigal Allon and requested him to act for the completeness of the party and the Alinement while preserving the status and power of the multitude of Rabin supporters. Among others MK Ura Namir, secretary of the Haifa District, Uri Agami, secretaries of the Kibbutz Hame'uhad and Ihud Hakvutzot V'Hakibbutzim, Mayor of the town of Herzlia Yosef Navo, heads of the party districts and others participated.

A delegation representing the Mishmeret Haz'ira [Youth Guard] (composed of Mishmeret Secretary Moshe Almozni, Mollie Dor, Mario Toval, Nissim Zavili, Abi Ofek and Chaim Ramon) appeared before Yigal Allon and Shimon Peres separately and called upon each to preserve the completeness of the Party and the Alignment.

Director of the Arab Affairs Department of the party, Ra'anan Cohen appealed to Yigal Allon to avoid a contest which would tend to bring about a division in the party and to severely damage the positive activities among Israeli Arabs who believe that a continuation of the rule of the Labor Party will prevent polarization between Jews and Arabs in Israel. He argued that the party should rally around the candidate who earned wide support at the convention while granting that I should not damage the steering crew of the party nor the status of Yigal Allon.

Meanwhile, the hands of the clock move rapidly, ground has been prepared for a dialogue between both principal personalities in the arena--between Shimon Peres and Yigal Allon--to determine an arrangement which will avoid a contest in the party central.

The "Boiling Down"

The arrangements committee has been continuing in the "boiling down" of the list among whose top tenth will apparently appear Shimon Peres, Yigal Allon, Abba Eban, Shlomo Hillel, Chaim Zadok, Yizhaq Navon, Yisrael Galili, Moshe Dayan and Mrs. Shoanah Arbeley-al-Mozlino. If Yizhaq Rabin agrees to be included in the list it may be assumed that he too will appear among the first tenth. Inclusion of Minister Yehoshua Rabinovitz is also possible. Several persons who were among Rabin supporters at the party convention have already announced that they will now support Shimon Peres. One was Minister Aharon Ozen who explained: "I supported Yizhaq Rabin because I saw in his non-election an attempt at repudiation before the conclusion of the term. Now I see in the non-selection of Shimon Peres, who earned a plurality at the convention of the party--an attempt at repudiation..."

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INTERNAL STRIFE--PERES' TEST

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 12 Apr 77 p 5

[Article: "Peres Will Be Expected To Get Involved in Economic Matters and To Make Quick Decisions on Urgent Issues"]

[Text] The international media was busy evaluating Peres' personality and stand on political and defense issues. The commentary on the BBC stood out from among all the others. It mentioned that Peres underwent a long training period before he became candidate for prime minister. He did not land there like Rabin did. According to the British, the right route for a person before becoming a candidate for prime minister is having other public offices.

Unlike other former prime ministers, with the exception of Levi Eshkol, Peres had a number of ministerial positions having to do with internal affairs. He was minister of transportation and communications, and for a while also minister of absorption. These are ministries that require involvement in internal affairs, especially economic matters and labor relations. True, in recent years Peres returned to his favorite subject--defense, but those years when he had other responsibilities surely left their mark and may even help him handle internal affairs.

Yizhaq Rabin--whose background is mostly in the military and diplomatic area --was forced to devote most of his time and energy to foreign and defense matters, because of conditions that prevailed after the Yom Kippur War. He only found time for internal affairs at times of crisis such as the recent port strike or when relations between the finance ministry and the Histadrut deteriorated after the cutbacks in subsidies last September. Rabin's greatest mistake as prime minister was that he did not change the government's priorities in time, so as to place internal affairs on top of the list when necessary. It is possible that this happened because Rabin recognized the fact that he knew nothing about these matters in general and economic matters in particular. He therefore delegated responsibilities to the appropriate minister, whereas he himself intervened only when it was absolutely necessary. This method of operations is fine, as long as the economy is not undergoing a crisis and does not need reforms, and the prime minister has a team of economic ministers who can decide, and act, fast, even under pressure and objections that any economic move raises.

The next Israeli prime minister will be expected to devote a good deal of his time to internal affairs, including economic problems. He will, indeed, face some very difficult tests on the foreign and defense arena, but his ability to withstand those tests will be determined largely by the internal situation.

The present campaign is very much dominated by economic and social issues. Some of the parties focused their attention on the present government's ability to deal with them. Many more issues for attacking the government will probably surface. Peres, who up to now has talked very little about these issues, will soon have to express his credo and even outline some of his government's future actions on them. The public will expect to hear what he thinks about these issues, which touch everyone's everyday life.

Shimon Peres, who is known as an "accomplisher," will have to overcome his weaknesses. Whereas on foreign and defense matters it is possible to make far reaching assessments and analyses about possible developments re the superpowers and inter-Arab relations, the internal situation is quite different. It is difficult to solve an economic problem by declarations. What is needed in this area is a thorough job of studying the facts, evaluating the alternatives, arriving at a decision and overseeing its implementation. He will probably have to confront various segments of the population in order to implement an unpopular decision. The test is quite difficult, it requires team work, wide cooperation and support of those in charge of carrying out decisions; it will require appearing before the public rather than merely delegating the "economic" minister to do so. What is involved, sometimes, is not the limelight and the publicity, but the gray work of convincing.

The budget is going to be one of the major decisions for the next prime minister. There is mounting pressure to cut this year's budget. Even the manager of Israel Bank publicly supports the idea of cutting the budget by a few billion pounds. These cutbacks will affect the defense budget as well. It is difficult to predict how Peres will act on this issue. Up to now, as defense minister, he vehemently resisted all cutbacks in the defense budget, and he foiled all attempts of the finance ministry to actively interfere in setting priorities in the defense system. Only after the crisis reached the headlines was there some amount of understanding. The prime minister had to intervene in these crises. Although Rabin has a solid defense background, he knew how to become somewhat objective in these cases and he managed to force some cutbacks in the defense budget. Will Peres follow some of his predecessors who accepted the position of the finance ministry, or will he prefer, as an alternative, larger cuts in services? What will become dominant, his defense past or overall national considerations?

In the past Peres was known for lending his support to some defense projects that were not adequately examined and determined to be worthwhile. True, for him defense considerations were uppermost, but as time went on it turned out that the needed investments exceeded the budgets allotted for them. The investments were not always justified, but Peres ought to be credited with a real push to develop the military and aerospace industries in order to promote Israel's military independence. As prime minister Peres will have to be more cautious about giving the green light to projects that are based mostly on imagination and last minute adjustments, rather than on realistic data and economic criteria.

In a position of prime minister, Peres will have to get away from the working habits of the defense ministry. In the latter he had budgets of billions and the finance minister had to worry about them. Although Peres vowed that he would carry out the Labor Party's platform as it was adopted by the last convention, his opinions on current economic issues are unknown. While Rabin avoided intervening, it cannot be expected that Peres will do likewise. If he is elected prime minister, he will inherit pressing economic problems that will require immediate resolutions--such as enacting additional indirect taxes in order to absorb the recent wage raises, cutbacks in subsidies, budgetary cutbacks, etc. These issues are all part of the big subject called revitalizing the economy.

Economic plans will not be the problem of the government. There are plenty of them in the finance ministry and in the Israel Bank. The test will be in how well they can be implemented, in the ability to show the road to revitalizing the economy and in regaining public trust by getting out of a recession and into a period of renewed economic growth.

The public is tired of plans and slogans. People want to hear of action--plans for a thorough treatment of these painful issues of everyday life. As a charismatic and practical leader Peres could renew public trust, inasmuch as we are in a transition period and we ought to be optimistic about the future. But this is a road full of mines. It is easy to solve problems with slogans and promises, as is done in any election campaign. The Israeli public has matured and no longer accepts lofty plans and promises; it expects eventual payment on these notes. If Peres adopts this easy method he will cause immediate disappointments. His test now is to present internal problems as they are, without trying to cover them up. He will have to spell out how he intends to act in the near future and what tools he plans on utilizing.

Peres will do well to recognize his drawbacks as far as economic issues go. He can overcome that by surrounding himself with experienced, well seasoned economic advisers, and, of course, a capable finance minister who will have his support and backing. He can act similarly on social and welfare issues, which have to attain their proper place on his agenda.

DEFENSE MINISTER PERES RELATES HIS LIFE STORY IN INTERVIEW

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 20 Apr 77 p 1, 2, 29 Supplement TA

[Interview with Defense Minister Shim'on Peres by Yeshay'ahu Ben-Porat:
"Shim'on Peres Tells About Himself"--time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] When, how and why did you begin public activity?

[Answer] Public activity? That was not what I intended. It was a case of wisdom with hindsight. I did something first and then all the rest came. I was a ninth grade student at the Geula commercial high school in Tel Aviv, and I decided to join a youth movement. I went through all the youth movements, including the scouts and the immigrant camps. I participated in their activities and asked myself what kind of a youth movement would suit me best. And then I went to a first of May meeting in the Tel Aviv stadium, and there two people, Berl Katzenelson and writer Shalom Asche, delivered speeches which, to this day, I can remember almost by heart.

Berl spoke about three things: that we are an original people, that we do not have to yield to any one, and that we should not imitate anyone and should be a free people. He also spoke severely against communism and against the escape to Russia. He used strong colors to paint what had happened in the various divisions of the workers movement and why, because of these divisions, it had failed.

Shalom Asche spoke about the tradition of the Jewish people, which is one of social equality and justice. This experience had a strong impact on me and I decided to join the Working Youth. I was the only one at school to join the Working Youth.

[Question] How old were you then?

[Answer] I was 14 or 15. I joined the Working Youth and was put in a group called "Alumot." The group leader was Elhanan Yishay [the Defense Ministry official in charge of industrialization and industrial development in development areas]. I remember that we made camp in the Moslem cemetery

in Tel Aviv. There I met another member, Mulla Cohen [commander of the Civil Guard], with whom I went a long way together and we became friends. Then Elhanan came up to us and spoke about an agricultural school most of whose members were immigrants, and they wanted to send two young people from the movement to enroll in the school. He appealed to Mulla and to me. Mulla and I left Tel Aviv and we went to the Ben-Shemen youth village.

In Ben-Shemen I illegally began to organize the Working Youth. This was forbidden, and I became very active in the life of the youths and the children. I organized literature and history groups. My favorite poet was Zalman Schmerzon (Schneor). We read Hazzaz and we read Berl. I began to publish essays in the newspaper, "BAMA'ALOT."

[Question] Why do you have reservations about the word "public activity?"

[Answer] Because then I did not think in those terms. We organized a nucleus that was to settle the land. This was the intention. However, since I had organized the activity in Ben-Shemen, I was sent to the Working Youth conference.

[Question] Were you naturally attracted to this activity?

[Answer] No, I had no idea. During that period I was still dreaming about being a poet. This was the grand dream of my youth.

[Question] How did you first meet Berl Katzenelson face to face?

[Answer] After I had written some essays in the "BAMA'ALOT" I received a request from Berl to the effect that he wanted to see me. I had never known him personally. During the same period an article by him was published, and it made a great impression on us. The title of the article was: "In Support of Perplexity and in Condemnation of Covering Up." He made a great impression on all of us. This was a discussion about the world of tomorrow and about all that kind of terminology. And the man who answered Berl with great talent and pungency was Moshe Shamir, who was organizing Hashomer Matzair at that time. I cannot remember if we invited Moshe Shamir to Ben-Shemen or if we read his answer to Berl.

At any rate, I got a letter from Berl inviting me to come and see him. I arrived one Sunday at Maze Street in Tel Aviv. Of course, this was an unforgettable experience. The first question that he asked was if I had read the Hazzaz. For a long time he questioned me about my friends and acquaintances, about the Ben-Shemen youth village and about the Working Youth Federation. I think that I sat with him for at least 2 hours. When I left I realized that he had extracted every bit of information that I had within me.

After a short time an immigrants camps seminar was held in Ben-Shemen, in which I also participated because the main lecturer was Berl. He lectured for 4 days--4 hours each day. His lectures were published in a book, and, in my opinion, this is the best book that Berl wrote, and it is an argument with the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile I was sent as a delegate on behalf of the Ben-Shemen branch of the Working Youth to the Working Youth convention, and there I was elected a member of the Center; and then Berl and I established a closer relationship, and I used to go to him for conversations almost every Sunday. It was he who gave me a taste for books and poetry. Time was devoted to all this. After that, relations between us became very close, because the Working Youth was a second class faction and I was, what is called, the historic Mapai, and Berl strongly encouraged me to transform the Working Youth into a general movement.

[Question] How did you first meet David Ben-Gurion?

[Answer] When I got a lift from him from Tel Aviv to Haifa.... He was interested in the Working Youth and, apparently, Berl had spoken well of me. Ben-Gurion invited me to travel with him to Haifa. The trip was a total disappointment. He did not turn to me and did not say a word to me. I sat very excited waiting for the opportunity to talk with him....

[Question] What was Ben-Gurion's job then?

[Answer] He was chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. This was the way it continued until we arrived at Zikhron Ya'akov. Near Zikhron Ya'akov he suddenly turned to me and said: Listen, Trotsky was not a leader. I did not understand how Trotsky suddenly came up.... At any rate, I saw that he was beginning a conversation, and I asked him: Why was he not a leader? Then he told me, "What is this, no war and no peace? This is a Jewish invention. Either war or peace. Either war--when you take the risk, or peace--when you pay the price. Trotsky did not understand that. Lenin--he understood. Perhaps, from an intellectual point of view, Trotsky was superior to Lenin, but Lenin was superior to Trotsky in decision-making, and for that reason Lenin was the leader of the Russian people and not Trotsky...." He finished with Lenin; he finished with Trotsky; we arrived in Haifa. I got out and that was the end of my first meeting with Ben-Gurion.

[Question] Do you also remember your first day in the defense [establishment]?

[Answer] I was a member of Kibbutz Alummot. One fine day in June 1947, Levi Eshkol turned up at Kibbutz Alummot with a letter from Ben-Gurion which said that it had been decided to recruit me to the Haganah staff. A kibbutz meeting was held and it was decided to release me. The next day I left for the "Red House" which was the Haganah headquarters in Tel Aviv. I was made responsible for recruiting and organizing manpower for the general staff. I was then 23 or 24. I was already secretary of the kibbutz and well known in the movement. I also had a talk with Ben-Gurion. He told me that we had to prepare for war, we did not have much time, and the forces must be recruited.

I started to work. Not a day had gone by when Eshkol came in and said to me: Shim'on, do you know English? I said that I did not. Have you been to America?

I said that I had not. Then he said: Good, you're the one that I need. I am looking for a director of the American Department.

[Question] What was Eshkol's job?

[Answer] Ben-Gurion had two aides, Galili and Eshkol. But one should remember that the arrangements and functions were not formal. Eshkol was also secretary of the Tel Aviv Workers Council. My relations with Eshkol were very good. He knew me from the kibbutz movement. He liked me very much and brought me close to him.

In 1946, a year earlier the Zionist Congress took place in Basel. Two wild youths were elected as the party's delegation--one of them was Moshe Dayan and I was the second. It was then, in fact, that Moshe and I drew close to each other. We travelled together on a small boat and we drew lots on who would travel with whom. It turned out that three of us lived in the same cabin: Eshkol, Lavon and I. On this occasion close ties developed between myself and Eshkol.

[Question] Could you outline the main benchmarks in your public career?

[Answer] First of all--my going to Ben-Shemen. There I was also recruited to the Haganah and I was also a post commander. I also underwent a basic weapons course for the first time in my life. This was during the period of rioting. It was there that I saw for the first time what foreign rule was--when the big search took place in Ben-Shemen, all the leadership of the village was arrested and an illegal arms cache was discovered. We were children then; we sat on the caches in order to hide them, but the British soldiers found them.

In Ben-Shemen I met Sonia, my future wife. I was the commander of a post near the house where she lived with her parents. I began my activity at Alumot in the kibbutz movement and in the Working Youth at the same time. What is also important is the great change that I precipitated in the Working Youth, for which I had a majority even though I had entered as a single person. Afterwards, Alumot flourished. This was a romantic and impressive part of my life. Afterwards I went to the Haganah, in 1947, and the security service. Before the end of the war I was appointed Chief of Naval Services. For the first time I got to know the navy from close up.

After the war of independence I travelled to the United States. There I was given further opportunities to broaden my horizons and to learn. I was the head of the Defense Ministry delegation in the United States. I enrolled at a university and studied for 2 years. There I also began to read some books in English.

Then, in the United States we founded two projects which were later to become very large ones: the aircraft industry and Tadiran.

After my return from the United States I was selected to reorganize the Defense Ministry. The French period began and the Sinai campaign. After that, the establishment of the Dimona Industries and the organization of the ministry itself. There were disputes about Germany, about scientists, activity around changing the system of elections, arguments between the youth and the veterans within the party, and the organization of the Young Guard.

My going to the Knesset in 1959 raised my work with Ben-Gurion to the highest level. I was his deputy. He left a deep impression on me. There was a special framework of relations between us. They were not very formal, but were sincere. I also knew that Ben-Gurion both trusted and had faith in me. This placed great obligations on me.

In 1965 I joined RAFTI and went into the unknown, into the "wilderness." This was, in fact, out of loyalty to Ben-Gurion. Suddenly to leave everything, my work, my influence, without a penny in my pocket, without any administrative axis, and for 3 or 4 months to establish a movement, together with Ben-Gurion, who had already reached the last chapter in his life, and a wonderful group of friends who were difficult to unite. These were 3 or 4 months without sleep or rest.

Afterwards I proposed that we reunite the workers movement and give up RAFTI. I was convinced that Moshe Dayan should join the government and that the split should be sewn up. After the Six-Day War I was deputy secretary of the party, a position which Golda [Meir] held. We would sit together for long hours talking and arguing. Afterwards I joined the government as a minister without portfolio, then as minister of immigrant absorption and as minister responsible for the development of the territories, and afterwards as transport and communications minister and in the end as information minister. As information minister I entered the political level and I was brought into the talks that were going on then with Kissinger and with others. Afterwards came Golda's and Moshe's departure and the meeting between Rabin and myself, when we agreed to contest and agreed to cooperate. This was over lunch at Cohen's small restaurant in Jerusalem, where we agreed to cooperate and this is the way that I behaved. Afterwards, came all the other things. All this was, of course, tied in with many other projects, both large and small, beginning with the establishment of Nazareth and the upper Galilee and continuing with the establishment of Mizpe Ramon. The reactor in Newe Rubin and dozens of other projects in all regions and corners of the country, also travel to Africa and to Asia and national missions. All the time I was working with friends and acquaintances and various leaders throughout the world.

[Question] Are you prepared to point to one big failure?

[Answer] I am prepared to point to many failures, but not on the eve of the elections.

[Question] The elections do not erase everything.

[Answer] Look...the RAFI business. This was a failure from my point of view, for example. But I am not sorry. I acted as an honest man should act.

[Question] One fine day you are asked about failure and you say RAFI?

[Answer] Everything comes hard for me. My road really has not been strewn with roses. Almost everything came to me with great difficulty, with severe conflicts and with many storms. Sometimes I ask myself: why? Why are there things that cause so much opposition?

[Question] You have saved me a question that I would formulate this way: Why have things been made so difficult for you? What did the different "troikas" have against you?

[Answer] One reason is that they thought that my influence on Ben-Gurion was greater than what it really was. They thought that many things that Ben-Gurion did were under my influence or at my suggestion--and this was not true. A second reason--because I talk a lot and I also speak in a direct manner. All in all, I spent most of my youth in revolt--to use party terminology--and not in acceptance: the organization of the young guard, the change in the Working Youth, the demand to change the system of elections--all this created great opposition.

Today everything looks natural. For example, the matter of France caused great laughter at the time. Even the organization of the Defense Ministry was not well accepted. Dimona created opposition. There was opposition to the aircraft industry. There was not only the opposition of economists who had no faith, El Al had doubts as well as the air force. Germany was in a storm. The Sinai campaign aroused opposition, and certainly RAFI aroused great opposition.

If you look at all the benchmarks in my life, almost everything that I did caused a different party of the public to react, because, to a certain extent, there was much nonconformity or changes in the situation which, at the time, appeared to be daring or too great. Over the years this accumulated slowly.

[Question] But you have to admit that the "troikas" were right. They feared that you wanted to take their place. Well, it is a fact that today you are sitting in the spot where they once sat.

[Answer] I do not think so. I know that Eshkol was very fond of me, and I did not leave him with an easy heart. I had to choose: to go with Ben-Gurion who was splitting off with Levi Eshkol who was staying. In the Lavon affair they tried to place responsibility for everything on my shoulders. Also in the affair of the German scientists they tried to make me responsible. This is because in many cases Ben-Gurion was too strong for their taste, and each time I had a conflict with another establishment.

Relations with France were a thorn in the ideology of the left. They said that we are going the way of Gaullism. They called me a Gaullist and other defamatory names. In the affair of the scientists they said that there is no other Germany. Even in the latest contest [for the premiership] many members thought that there should not be a contest. In my opinion, the contest saved the party. You will never find me among the pacifiers. I am always on the side that arouses opposition. This is how I have spent my life, out of internal conviction. However, this does not change the fact of the matter.

[Question] You learned a great deal from Ben-Gurion. However, what did you learn from him that you would like to apply as prime minister, if you are elected?

[Answer] First of all, never to build an impression from day-to-day judgment; not to stall at opposition; not to yield to tempting preferences; but to see fundamental moves in the long term, to crystallize them well, and to fight for them consistently. The greatest thing that Ben-Gurion had was the belief in the heritage and the purpose of the Jewish people, and in their historical charge. Basically, Ben-Gurion was a believing Jew. I also learned from Ben-Gurion that all the small temptations, such as honor, gain, status--these have no real value.

[Question] And are you like that?

[Answer] In my consciousness, yes, certainly. I do not regard myself as lacking faults, or as a perfect person. I am very far from this. Nor am I Ben-Gurion. I am well aware of the fact that I cannot behave as he did, I can only try to follow his path. In my heart I also know that this period has seen great change.

I believe that today we need a unifying style. In Ben-Gurion's day the leadership's main responsibility was for the uncertain future. Today responsibility is for the children who already exist, and first of all, not to send them to war unnecessarily; and responsibility is to create a society which one can be proud of and believe in. With almost everything that I do I ask myself deep in my heart: How will the children whom we are raising see this, because now it is difficult to change ourselves. Today the future is no longer an empty vacuum, but one of hundreds of thousands of youths and children and it is their fate that is the decisive factor.

[Question] Would you like to see yourself only as chairman of the government or also as managing director of the government, responsible for directing the whole thing?

[Answer] I am very far from regarding myself as one person. What will determine things is team work and the creation of a general directive. I am not building on one person even if that person might be me. The real problem is to unite as large and as broad a body of people as possible and

to give these people the feeling that they can act without fear, to give them authority and to jointly agree on programs of action. I believe in collective leadership. This is also a personal compulsion.

[Question] In the election campaign, you will be facing a man whom I know you respect, but you will have to fight against him, Menahem Begin. How will you do this?

[Answer] Personally I have great respect for Begin. However, we are totally different in our experience, our Weltanschauung and in our points of departure. I supported the partition and I cannot conceive of Begin being able to support partition. Begin's tendencies are more toward the liberalism that existed in Europe at the beginning of this century. I am a disciple of the workers movement. In a democratic regime there is room for two wings: the labor wing and the civilian [as published] wing. The civilian wing is built on laissez faire, on private enterprise, with a national character. The labor wing is built on organizing the social effort around equality and around real social justice. The Labor Party cannot be described without mentioning the working settlement, the Histadrut, without the three components: Zionism, socialism, democracy.

At the same time, I must admit that I am not inclined toward personal attacks and mudslinging, even though this is sometimes required in political life.

[Question] Would Meir 'Amit and Dudi Golomb have gone over to the democratic movement for change had they known that you would be leading the Labor Party?

[Answer] I think that they would have stayed. They really did not believe that this was possible. This does not justify their having left. In private life as in public life one should have long wind, but people lose their patience quickly. I do not believe in things being clear-cut. Until you see the results you must be persistent and patient, and be among people. I feel some regret at seeing people who lose patience, sometimes a minute before the "finish."

[Question] Will you be able to fight against them in the election campaign? Can you attack real friends?

[Answer] I do not think that my problem will be to fight against them.

[Question] How will you prevent the Democratic Movement for Change taking votes from the alinement?

[Answer] I fear sinking into complacency, but it appears that the main problem is to gain the public's trust, and I must admit that I am quite surprised by the amount of faith and affection that a large part of the public in Israel has shown toward me. In the election campaign I intend to mention why we need a government that has a decision-making ability and

a stable government. Today I cannot see the Democratic Movement for Change wielding power. The changes that the Labor Party has undergone resulting in its search for change on the national level make the changes sought by the Democratic Movement for Change look pale.

[Question] As a result of the contest, young people, not all of whom are prodigies, have risen to the political leadership of the party. On the other hand more worthwhile candidates have fallen.

[Answer] I have great regret for those who have fallen. Those who rose, rose justly, in my opinion. I do not know of one person on the list who is not an authentic representative of something, of a region, a district, an idea or an experience.

[Question] What does the "Shiluv" circle represent?

[Answer] Today it represents what the young guard once represented, as well as the interim generation which worked hard for its achievements. This is a group that has worked very hard to reach its present position. Our list of candidates is the most representative that the party has ever had and certainly the most representative compared to the other lists. I am proud of the list even though I have some regret for mistakes that we have made. Why should I say mistakes that we made... I will say mistakes that I made under severe pressure of time and the atmosphere of crisis that existed.

[Question] One feels annoyed and generally bad about the fact that a month before the elections you are already partaking of the cake. You are exchanging ambassadors, appointing managing directors....

[Answer] We are not partaking of the cake. Efraim Evron was about to leave for London. He wanted to serve in other posts in the Foreign Ministry and in other places. I asked that he postpone his departure until after the elections. We are not talking about any concrete position. I have not undertaken, and no one has asked me to undertake, to give him any concrete position. It is quite natural--and this is the way that I acted in the Defense Ministry also--that when I go from one place to another I keep all the people and maintain their honor. The word "purges" is foreign to me. I have informed everybody that they will remain in their posts, because I have no reason to cause shock waves and certainly not on the national level. Ministers will be changed.

[Question] They say that your saddlebag carries a surprise with respect to the finance minister, if and when this becomes actual?

[Answer] We need a finance minister who will be able to recruit the faith of the people, that is, his no is a no and his yes is a yes. We need a finance minister who will work in two directions: stabilizing the currency and stopping inflation, and no less than this, bringing back growth.

The finance minister cannot only respond to and consider pressures. He must be an authentic representative of Israel's future policy. The finance minister must be a full partner in the implementation of a policy of growth, of opening the gates to immigration and of putting an end to or bridging the social gaps.

[Question] Do you have any ideas as to how to fill these squares?

[Answer] I am not prepared to discuss this matter.

[Question] There are some who already see you as the prisoner of those two "terrible" doves, Allon and Eban. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Only yesterday I was the prisoner of someone else and today I am the prisoner of someone else, so I am going from one prison to another. This does not affect me. Each one of us can choose to be a dove or a hawk, but it is an illusion to think that the world goes around according to this. We are facing a hard and serious reality and we will have to be able to take decisions. I wish I could think that it would be enough for us to decide on a plan or on an image and that everything else would fall into place accordingly. Were that the situation, then we would have no problems.

[Question] I am not sure if you share my feeling that the troublesome feeling in this country arises from the suspicion that we have "missed [lefasfes] the point. What can you contribute to change this situation?

[Answer] This independence day brings the state of Israel to its 30th year. Sometimes one has to look at the state from a birdseye view. I do not think that any country in the whole of human history has, during 30 years, overcome so many barriers and achieved so much in historical terms. In these 30 years we have brought over 2 million Jews from the four corners of the earth. This is a dramatic and unbelievable gathering of people. We have built over 1,000 settlements, including new cities. I look at Ofira, Yamit, Ashdod and Ashqelon. Today Ofira and Yamit are what Ashdod and Ashqelon were yesterday. You see Karmi'el and you see Qiryat Shemona, and you go to the Jerusalem corridor: This really is a legend, the realization of a legend.

During these 30 years we have fought four times under impossible conditions. According to all the military textbooks, we should have lost. We have always won. We have established the kibbutz movement. This is a country that is constantly thrilling the whole world. There is no country that is spoken of so much. I can see the latent powers.

If we are elected, and I think that we will be, the thought that must direct the government is: We have ended 30 years and we are beginning the march toward the end of the century--what country do we want in the year 2,000? how many Jews? on what level? what is the order of priorities? I know that among the Jewish people there have always been people who have given up, who have painted the depressions as the real horizon of life. This is

also the reason why the Jewish people have stayed so small in number. On the one hand, they have great obstinacy, and on the other hand they have a surprising shortage of patience.

I believe that toward the year 2,000 there should be at least 6 million Jews here. I can visualize the whole country green and irrigated by sea water. I can visualize one area that will be even greener than 'Emeq Yizre'el, 'Emeq Zevulun and the Jordan valley together, and that is Pithat Rafiah, Qaddesh Barne'a and Beersheba.

Once it was said that the Jewish people were not soldiers or farmers. Today we rank first in the world in both of these areas. I hope that we will also reach self-sufficiency in military equipment, food, and water. We need 6 million Jews in order to prepare the foundations for spiritual excitement. It is hard for a people of 3 million to "maintain" spirit, intellect and civilization. We need a large population of readers and a large population of writers in order to advance literature, the theater, television, journalism and education. For as long as we are 3 million people and the main effort still has to be the defense effort we are not left with enough quantitative and qualitative forces in the areas that I have mentioned. I am so certain of Israel's future that I am not influenced by the talk about emigration, distress and having missed opportunities. There are no people who do not have a history of having missed opportunities. There are no such people. Were life only composed of achievements and successes life would be much more simple. Of course we have missed many things. The biggest miss was that the Jewish people began to build their country 50 years too late.

The big miss was when the gates of the country were open, but the Jews did not come. The big miss was that the people ran after all sorts of transitory temptations and terrible illusions, in Germany, in Poland, in Russia and in other places. In spite of this I believe that we are one of the greatest peoples in existence. From the very beginning of our national existence we have gained spiritual independence.

We have to repair what needs to be repaired--without missing the point--our spiritual independence. However, we have to understand that administering a country means making decisions and sometimes also making compromises. We have to understand that maintaining our independence demands sacrifices--and to my regret, human sacrifices also--that maintaining an independent economy requires day-to-day diligence. I have the greatest respect for hard-working people. The fight against parasites begins with the day's work that you give to society and to yourself.

I believe that there is a spiritual genetic in the Jewish people that goes from generation to generation, from center to center. These are nonconformist people who have not ceased for a minute to create wherever they may be. This does not mean that I am not concerned. I can clearly see the great dangers that lurk both internally and externally. I am not ignoring them. At the beginning you asked what I had learned from Ben-Gurion. I told you that he was a politician with faith. Today, too, there is no Jewish policy without faith.

PRE-ELECTION SURVEY

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 31 Mar 77 p 17

[Article by Khanoch Smith: "A Detailed Survey Reveals That the Leadership of the Alinement Is in Some Trouble"]

[Text]

Party Preference by Various Categories (percentages)

| | Alinement | Likud | DMC | Religious parties | Other | No preference |
|-------------------|-----------|-------|------|----------------------|-------|------------------|
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Male | 31.0 | 25.0 | 13.0 | 6.5 | 10.5 | 14.0 |
| Female | 34.0 | 21.0 | 12.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 17.0 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 22.0 | 29.0 | 15.0 | 6.0 | 12.0 | 16.0 |
| 30-49 | 34.0 | 23.0 | 15.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 12.0 |
| 50 and up | 44.0 | 15.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 | 6.0 | 19.0 |
| Origin | | | | | | |
| Europe/U.S. | 40.0 | 19.0 | 15.0 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 16.0 |
| Asia/Africa | 28.0 | 34.0 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 16.0 |
| Seniority Natives | 23.0 | 21.0 | 15.0 | 7.0 | 18.0 | 16.0 |
| Immigrants: | | | | | | |
| Before 1948 | 38.0 | 12.0 | 18.0 | 8.0 | 5.0 | 19.0 |
| 1948-1953 | 40.0 | 24.0 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 1.0 | 18.0 |
| 1954 and on | 40.0 | 29.0 | 10.0 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 12.0 |
| Education | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 36.0 | 21.0 | 6.0 | 8.0 | 10.0 | 19.0 |
| High School | 32.0 | 29.0 | 12.0 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 12.0 |
| College | 28.0 | 13.0 | 27.0 | 10.0 | 7.0 | 15.0 |
| Occupation | | | | | | |
| White Collar | 33.0 | 19.0 | 21.0 | 9.0 | 7.0 | 11.0 |
| Blue collar | 30.0 | 32.0 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 12.0 | 16.0 |

The voting distribution among various population groups reveals that distinct differences are developing among them inasmuch as political preference is concerned. There is not enough reliable data from the past (except for a 1973 survey) and thus it is rather difficult to define trends in specific areas.

To begin with, there are different voting patterns by age groups. The younger voters, 18-29 years of age, clearly tend to support Likud. The "parent" generation, on the other hand, those who are over 50, support the Alinement more than any other party. Support of the Alinement goes up with age, while support of Likud declines. Since there are approximately the same number of voters in each of the age groups, the present advantage of the Alinement can be attributed to that third of the voters who are 50 and over. Compared with 1973, there is an additional shift toward Likud among younger voters, while at the same time there is an additional shift toward the Alinement among other voters.

The sharpest contrast shows in the country-of-origin category. Likud is ahead among those from Asia and Africa, while the European population tends to support the Alinement. Actually, two generations are included in this category, since native Israelis were included in the country of origin of their parents. Since 55 percent of the citizens of voting age (except for third generation natives) are of European extraction, this segment of the population has the most weight at the polls. A similar pattern was observed in 1973 and thus no clear-cut trend can be noted in this category.

Categorizing by seniority in Israel, those who came prior to 1948 (85 percent of whom are of European extraction) are the ones most opposed of Likud. Most of the support for Likud comes from immigrants who came after 1948 (most of whom are from Asia and Africa).

It should be pointed out that minorities are also included in the voter sampling. For example, 18 percent of those voting for "other" and who are natives, are minority voters who voted mostly for RAKAH or minority parties.

The analysis based on the educational level is rather interesting, since here a very special pattern can be observed. Likud comes closest to the Alinement among voters with a high school education (9-12 years). Support of Likud is rather low among those with higher education. It is interesting to note that support of the Alinement declines as the education level rises. Support of DMC is concentrated among the highly educated.

This pattern can also be observed among white and blue collar workers. The former support the Alinement and DMC, the latter prefer Likud.

Only comparison based on sex reveals a steady pattern. Women support the Alinement somewhat more than men and Likud somewhat less than men. On this score there are hardly any noticeable differences for the other parties.

This data sheds some light on the relative strength of the parties and on their strong and weak points.

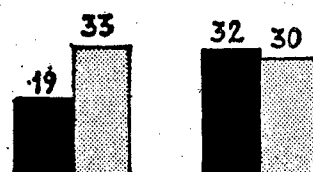
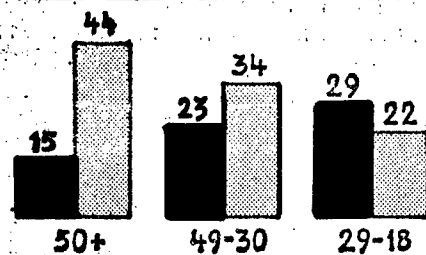
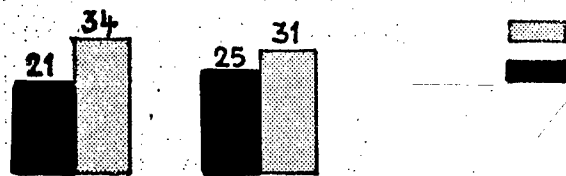
The Alinelement. Most of the support for the Alinelement comes from voters 50 or older and voters of European extraction. Its main weakness is among young voters, voters of Asian and African extraction and, to some extent, educated people. The Alinelement is basically a white collar party although it has quite a bit of support among blue collar workers and less educated voters.

Likud. Most of Likud's support comes from voters of Asian and African extraction and blue collar workers. It is also relatively strong among young voters. On the other hand, some weak points have developed in Likud's support; European voters do not tend to vote for Likud, especially immigrants who arrived before 1948. Likewise, highly educated voters and those over 50 do not tend to support it. All these are rather important segments of the population. Even among the least educated Likud looks weak compared with the Alinelement.

DMC--The Democratic Movement for Change--is one party the support pattern for which is best defined and most specific. DMC received about 27 percent of the votes among the highest educated voters, almost as much as the Alinelement. On this count Likud is a poor third after the Alinelement and DMC. High support for this party comes from voters over 50, blue collar workers and the least educated voters. Nevertheless, DMC received quite a bit of support among those of Asian and African extraction, probably the most educated in the group.

The religious parties. Support of the religious parties goes up with age, it is higher among those who come from Moslem countries than among European immigrants. Moreover, support of the religious parties is weakest among blue collar workers and relatively strong among white collar workers. The religious parties have considerable support among the most educated. A comparison with 1973 reveals that the religious parties have maintained their support among European voters and the highly educated. Losses occurred apparently among the less educated and those from Moslem countries.

Compared with 1973 there has not been much change in the pattern of support for the major parties. The emergence of DMC has made a difference for the two largest parties. DMC has attracted the educated people from the Alinelement as well as former Likud supporters. DMC has also pulled away young voters, voters with a high school education and those who have been in the country for a long time. This is why it seems that the Alinelement's strength compared with Likud's has not changed since 1973.



Sex, age, country of origin, occupation--and the elections. What is the political preference of various segments of the population. In this first public opinion poll conducted for MA'ARIV, a lot of valuable information regarding problems related to the elections has been collected.

The survey was conducted between 9-18 March by "Smith--a Center for Research" under the direction of statistician Khanoch Smith. There were 1,200 participants throughout the country.

Another survey is to be conducted in mid April and a third one in May, just prior to election time.

Khanoch Smith analyzes the results of the survey exclusively for MA'ARIV.

All figures are in percentage points.

Legend: Shaded area--the Aliniment
Black -- Likud

First row: Right -- male
left -- female

Second row: Age.
Right--18-29
middle--30-49
left--50+

Third row: Origin
Right--Europe/U.S.
middle--Asia/Africa
left--Native born

Fourth row: Occupation
right--blue collar
left--white collar

A P P E N D I X

The Labor Party, in its convention in February, selected Yizhaq Rabin as its candidate for Prime Minister--not Shim'on Peres. The issue of Rabin's resignation is dealt with in the articles that follow. The past performance of the Rabin government is also considered. It is this which Peres will have to defend in the coming election.

RABIN'S DOWNFALL

Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 10 Apr 77 p 3

[Article: "Investigation of the Rabins Continues; Rabin's Immunity May Be Revoked"]

[Text] On Tuesday, 8 March, in the morning, an official car of the American government stopped at the entrance of a Dupont Circle bank in Washington. Mrs Leah Rabin, accompanied by a bodyguard, stepped out of the car. She entered the bank and withdrew some money from account number 4698553, registered in her name and that of her husband, Yizhaq Rabin, the prime minister.

Two days later three Israeli embassy workers entered the same bank for personal routine transactions. Quite innocently the teller told them that "the wife of your prime minister was here 2 days ago." The workers, who knew only too well that Israelis are not allowed to have bank accounts overseas, were surprised. The story spread by word of mouth until it got to Dan Margalit, HA'AREZ correspondent in the U.S. A quick investigation by Dan Margalit revealed the first detail on the matter, which, within 3 weeks, forced the prime minister to resign and threw the Labor Party into a crisis with international repercussions.

Margalit found out about it from a different source. He investigated the matter carefully and personally visited the bank to ascertain that Mrs Rabin indeed had an account there. At that point Margalit did not publish the facts that there were two accounts, not one, and that both were joint accounts in the name of Leah and Yizhaq Rabin.

On 15 March, following double checking in Israel and the U.S., HA'AREZ published the story. Reaction was fast but at first the prime minister remained, sort of, in the background. His wife appeared, reacted and acted. She announced that she had \$2,000 in the account (those close to the prime minister said that "the amounts are relatively small and were left for paying outstanding bills") and that she informed the bank that day to transfer the money to the central office of the Workers' bank in Tel Aviv, converting it to pounds. She announced that she would contribute the money to the association

for autistic children, which she heads. That is what she did after a few days. It seems that Mrs Rabin thought that this was the end of the matter.

The people of the department for foreign currency in the finance ministry, headed by Mr Dov Kanterowitz, thought differently. To clarify matters it should be pointed out that Mr Kanterowitz has more authority than any other government official (with the exception of the government's legal adviser). He is in charge of carrying out directives and regulations that fill a bulky book called "Defense Regulations, Finance." These regulations give him almost full authority--not the finance minister. He is practically unhindered by political concerns and acts in the framework of the law and the above regulations only. Mr Kanterowitz is known as an honest man beyond reproach, a person who is not a politician and whose sole interest is doing an excellent job. He therefore instructed his people to act on the matter exactly as they would in any other cases: start an investigation.

An investigation regarding foreign currency is particularly difficult for the person being investigated. According to the regulations he has to (unlike in a criminal case) answer any and all questions and present all documents requested of him. Even the immunity of a Knesset member is void, as far as these regulations go. They allow investigations of Knesset members in the area of foreign currency; they even allow searching of their homes. The penalties are stiff and the law specifies violations bearing 5- and 7-year prison terms. It is obvious that the law is very strict on foreign currency.

Yizhaq Rabin and his wife, who know only too well what is permitted and what is not, were careful (or so they thought). On 15 March they told the department for foreign currency that they did not have one account in Washington, but two, and that both accounts were in both names. The latter fact was made known by the prime minister only after 5 days. The former was concealed to the very end. He did not even announce it when he announced his resignation and it was made known only through newspaper reports.

An Attorney Is Retained

The investigation of the department for foreign currency was conducted by attorney Arye Mintkewitz, deputy legal adviser of the department. Within 2 days he was contacted by attorney Shimon Alexandroni of Tel Aviv, who informed him that he had been retained by the Rabins to handle their case. The choice was not accidental: Mr Alexandroni was the economic attache in Washington when Rabin was ambassador there. The two knew each other well.

As per attorney Mintkewitz's request, based on the regulations, Mr Alexandroni handed both account books to the investigators. The documents were handed over in late March and the investigators studied them carefully for a few days.

The "Contribution"

On 20 March Mr Rabin gave a radio interview and throughout it he talked of only one account; he did not mention the other account. Mr Rabin and his wife did not report the true balance of the accounts and kept showing a check for IL20,000 that was contributed to the autistic children. Officials of the finance minister breathed a sigh of relief and told reporters, the author among them, that there is a custom according to which foreign currency accounts of up to \$5,000 are punishable by a fine only, without police or legal proceedings. "So everything will be all right," one official said. It seems that everybody was under the impression that the balance of the account was only \$2,000.

But the investigators knew better. They went through the books and received explanations from the prime minister, via Mr Alexandroni. This is the picture they had:

In March 1973, when the Rabins left Washington, they left two joint accounts in the bank. The total balance was \$21,000, to which interest was added later on. There were about \$17,200 in a savings account and the rest in a checking account (Dan Margalit knew that but HA'AREZ refrained from publishing the fact for lack of sufficient evidence). In the past 4 years they visited the U.S. a number of times, mostly on official business. On almost every visit Leah Rabin went to the bank and withdrew \$1,000-\$1,500 (or perhaps somewhat more). She spent it in the U.S. on expensive dresses, other fashion items, presents, etc. Purchases were made in Washington and New York. During her last visit, at the beginning of March, she withdrew close to \$2,000 from account number 4698553 for the same purpose. This is how she was exposed, as was detailed earlier.

After all the withdrawals, including the last one, the account that Dan Margalit discovered had \$2,280. The other account, whose existence was just disclosed, still had \$8,200. As was mentioned, both accounts were joint. The \$8,200 were transferred to Israel when HA'AREZ began the investigation. The money was not transferred to the workers' bank but to Israel National Bank. The sum was converted to pounds (about IL75,500) and deposited into the Rabins' personal account.

The committee met on 5 April. It consisted of attorney Mintkewitz, Mr R. Barlevi (also from the finance ministry) and a police representative. The committee decided on a fine of IL145,000 and on no further investigation or legal proceedings. The decision was relayed to the government's legal adviser, Professor Aharon Baroq who, by law, has to approve any such decision.

No Extenuating Circumstances

Professor Baroq studied the material and announced that he would not approve the committee's recommendations. His main argument was as follows: Procedures of the foreign currency department state that illegal accounts of up to \$5,000 carry a monetary penalty. Any amounts over it require an investigation and legal proceedings, except in unusual circumstances (such as when the suspect is sick). In the case in question the amount was

\$20,000 and there were no extenuating circumstances. In addition, the principle that no one, not even the prime minister, is above the law, has to be maintained.

Professor Baraq maintained, after studying the case, that there was already enough material, with only minor details missing, to prosecute Leah Rabin. It turned out that she was the active partner in the account. As for the prime minister, the legal adviser said that not enough had been found out and that the investigation should continue. Therefore the legal adviser directed that the prime minister be investigated. After the investigation is complete a decision can be made as to whether the Knesset should strip him of his immunity. At that time, and unrelated to Professor Baraq's decision, the police opened a file against the prime minister and his wife. This is a matter of routine in any case where there is any suspicion of a violation, but it is unprecedented against an Israeli prime minister.

Professor Baraq's decision is somewhat reminiscent of the problems of former President Nixon when it was decided to invite him for an investigation regarding Watergate. Both men understood, each in his own particular circumstances, that it was impossible for them to stay in office if they were suspected of criminal offenses and they were being investigated. They both drew their conclusions and resigned. Israel lost a prime minister but gained a number 1 jurist, a man who has proven that no one, important as he may be, is above the law.

8646

CSO: 4805

GOVERNMENT LEGAL COUNSEL AND COLLEAGUES MAINTAIN INDEPENDENT STAND

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Apr 77 p 14

[Article by Amos Levav: "'It Is Not Our Function To Enter Into Political Considerations'--Prof. Barak and Colleagues Responded to Pressures from the Treasury Department"]

[Text] At the height of the Yadlin Affair the Legal Counsel to the Government, Prof Aharon Barak, was asked: "Why are you constantly reporting findings of the investigation to Yizhaq Rabin? Isn't he the one who proposed Yadlin for the post of Governor of the Bank of Israel?" Without hesitation, Prof. Barak responded: "Yazhaq Rabin is the Prime Minister. I am the legal counsel to the government. I shall cease to report the findings of the investigation to Rabin only when he himself comes under suspicion."

In the matter of the foreign currency accounts of Leah and Yizhaq Rabin, Prof Barak reported findings of the investigation to Justice Minister Chaim Zadok. Yizhaq Rabin, the suspect, received no report....

Who is the legal counsel to the government, who up to 2 years ago was well known only in the academic field and sat among his tomes on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem as dean of the law faculty of the Hebrew University?

Prof. Aharon Barak, 42, is a person of pleasant appearance who never loses his calmness. He made a brilliant academic career and during a relatively short period of time was a professor, dean of law faculty and recipient of the Israel Prize for his work and studies in the field of civil law.

It was particularly because of this specialty of his and his lack of experience in the field of criminal law that many foresaw difficulties in his post as legal counsel, whose main work focuses in the criminal field. But a surprise was in store for them. Even during the first month of his work, July 1975, he decided to bring to trial Yehoshua Perez, a powerful labor leader, for closing the Port of Ashdod.

Several months later Prof Barak was sitting at lunch with the former Inspector General of Israel Police, Shaul Rosolio. As if incidentally, the IG told him about "some dossier containing allegations against the proposed Bank of Israel Governor, Asher Yadlin." Prof Barak requested the dossier, studied it, and requested an urgent meeting with Yitzhak Rabin. From that moment on, he personally was responsible for the many faceted investigation of the former chairman of the Kupat Holim central office.

Withdrawal of Yadlin's nomination as governor was delayed. The government did not rush to admit that the man recommended by it to be responsible for the nation's treasury was a thief. After a very short time, Prof Barak approved the arrest of Asher Yadlin. Immediately thereafter the nomination was withdrawn.

Naive Mask

Those who prophesied failure for the naive professor began to recognize their error. It became clear to them that behind the mask of naivete, almost boyishness, there lurked principles so ingrained as to convert the man almost into a cruel one.

A senior person in the government asked Prof Barak not long ago: "Do you really have an answer for every question?" And Prof Barak answered: "I have principles which are so deeply imbedded in my gut that they provide answers for me." Those principles also fortify him from events which, were it not that they actually happened, would seem to all of us as a nightmare.

Two days after the suicide of the late Housing Minister Avraham Ofer, someone dared ask Prof Barak, whose investigation so crushed Avraham Ofer: "How do you feel?" And Prof Barak answered: "I'm at peace with my conscience regarding every way the Ofer affair was dealt with."

The legal counsel to the government works with great deliberation. Many dossiers pile up on his desk and people seeking his services complain about red tape. This deliberateness is explained by the great thoroughness of the man who realizes that he is walking a tight rope. A slight error and he may destroy a man and his family, topple a government, topple himself... The opinion in which he determined that the investigation must cease following the demise of Ofer, was written by Aharon Barak over a full 10 and one-half hours. The opinion extended over a page and a half....

One error is attributed to the legal counsel in his career. It happened about a year and a half ago. Two physicians from Nablus were brought to the Lebanese border, provided with a canteen full of water and deported. While they were actually at the border, someone telephoned to Prof Barak who was on vacation in the south of the country, told him that an urgent petition had been submitted to the High Court of Justice in an effort to prevent the deportation, and asked him if the very submission of the petition (which had not yet been taken up by a judge) was sufficient to hold up the deportation proceedings.

The legal counsel consulted his tomes and determined that from the standpoint of law submission of the petition does not delay the deportation. Justice Moshe Ezioni, who had only to hear that the physician petitioners were already in Lebanon requested, in sharp language, clarification from the legal counsel.

Prof Barak's severest test was with the first resignation of Rabin and the dismissal of the National Religious Party ministers from the government. The issue reached the High Court of Justice with the petitioners being both the legal counsel and the Labor Party ministers who had resigned from the government.

Here the deputy to the legal counsel, Dr Mishael Hashin, entered the picture. He too, like Prof Barak, had come from a chair at the law faculty of the Hebrew University. He is a personal friend of Prof Barak and represents the complete antithesis. Justices of the high court recognize his great value as a jurist and forgive his "heated" arguments which at times border on impulsiveness and hubris. Day and night both sat and prepared their arguments. Sure of their victory they arrived at the high court, and won. The NRP ministers remained outside of the government and the Labor Party ministers were compelled to return to it as ministers by coercion.

The Barak-Hashin team is supplemented by the State's Attorney Gavriel Bach and Solicitor for the Jerusalem District, Mikhael Kirsch.

The former is an experienced solicitor, deliberate, quiet and with pleasant manners; the second--"fire and brimstone," impulsive, as is Dr Hashin, a brilliant and sharp jurist, the scourge of law violators and their attorneys. This is the team which at the end of the week sealed the fate of Yizhaq Rabin.

About a month ago when HA'AREZ correspondent Dan Margalit uncovered the bank account in Washington of Leah Rabin, Prof Barak issued a directive stating that "in this instance we must act in accordance with the policy which applies to the entire Israeli nation. And that policy is based upon directives of 1971, which are: "(A) It must be borne in mind that only a hard line will bring about the desired result--curtailment of the manifestation of violation in the area of defense regulations, fiscal; (B) There is to be no fine levied when the amount of foreign currency exceeds \$5,000."

Personnel of the Foreign Currency Branch of the Finance Ministry reported to Prof Barak, to Dr. Hashin, to Gavriel Bach and to Mikhael Kirsch that the sums amounted to \$20,000, that there were many withdrawals from the branch of the bank in Washington and that a great deal of foreign money of this amount was in traveler's checks held also in the home of the Rabin family in Tel-Aviv.

Feverish deliberations were undertaken. Mikhael Kirsch, characteristically, knows no compromises: "Law is law, the Rabin case does not fall into the categories of 'special cases,' the Rabin pair must be brought to trial."

There were doubts and vacillations. Personnel of the Finance Ministry contended that they recommend a fine, for a trial would entail severe political consequences. This contention was rejected by the 4 persons of the general prosecution. "We are professionals, judicial persons," they said. "It is not our function to enter into political implications."

Finance Ministry personnel were also invited, those whose day to day work is involved with levying fines. Not the "seniors," but officials whose work this is. The problem was put to them, and they ruled without hesitation: "In such a case, involving such an amount and many withdrawals--there should be a trial."

The Finance Ministry was not proposing a "new policy" to the people of the prosecution and Prof Barak and his three colleagues arrived at an unequivocal conclusion: "This concerns an adult woman who knows how to read and write, who can distinguish between permissible and forbidden--she is to go to trial." And as to her husband, he will be investigated by the Foreign Currency Branch (as is customary in such cases, a police dossier was also opened). If it turns out that he did not know about the account (despite his contention that the responsibility is joint between him and his wife) he will not be brought to trial.

There Have Been Precedents

Finance continued to recommend a fine. "There have been more serious precedents in which a fine was levied," people from Finance said. The prosecution people explained to them that those cases concerned a cancer patient, an old man of 92, and a voluntary admission. It was further explained to officials of the Finance Ministry that if they insisted on levying a fine, the legal counsel would not be able to prevent them from doing that (the law does not permit him to do that), but there was liable to be a suit (in the High Court) and even a public campaign, in which he himself would participate, against the levying of a fine." For the directives which were intended to preserve orderly administrative procedures require that levying of a fine is to be accomplished in coordination with the legal counsel to the government. The decision was a difficult one. It was clear to the 4 members of the prosecution that they had sealed the fate of the Prime Minister of Israel. Prof Barak and Gavriel Bach make no secret of their deep regret over the affair and here once again the conflict between law and feeling bubbles to the surface from within the man of law. After Asher Yadlin confessed, Prof Barak went up to Mount Scopus, dejected, and communed with his tomes. "In our wildest dreams we never thought we would be compelled to make a decision such as this," said Prof Aharon Barak and Gavriel Bach to those close to them.

There is no doubt that the Government's Legal Counsel, as chief of the general prosecution, is making history. Many have recently asked if his function is to counsel the government or to topple it. This is the place to make clear that the function is two-sided: As chief of the general prosecution, the legal counsel must decide to bring to trial and guide the police department, and as legal counsel to the government he must provide it and its ministers with opinions which bind them.

Prof Aharon Barak is a central figure in the life of the state during these stormy days. In his opinion, "Wherever you find people living, you'll find corruption." He views his function as a mission. "We are not a corrupt state," the legal counsel said upon taking over his office. "We are undergoing a process of purification."

Dozens of newspapermen, domestic and from abroad, have been seeking an interview with the legal counsel these days. He vehemently refuses. The man who toppled, by a fateful decision, the Prime Minister of Israel, is not yet accustomed to the spotlight of publicity.

8090

CSO: 4805

LEAH RABIN'S REACTION TO HUSBAND'S STEPPING DOWN

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 April 77 p 13

[Interview with Leah Rabin by Tamar Avidar: "Leah Rabin: 'I Was the One Who Maintained the Account'"]

[Text] "Is there anything I can do to help?" a far-off friend asks over the telephone.

"Just by calling, you've already helped," Leah Rabin answers the caller. "It's a sad day," she answers over the telephone to someone else. Many people are calling the Rabin house at Neveh-Avivim to express regret, to ask if his decision is irrevocable to arrive at the personal conclusions on the affair of the Washington bank account, and if he is leaving.

It's dusk on Friday. A group of close friends, people of the party who came to shake hands, has just left. Another group is due very soon. Leah Rabin (whose birthday it happens to be today) receives the visitors with a smile. She is in complete control of herself. "A great drama is taking place here," she says. "What has happened affects masses of people, is causing them sadness and anguish. These are people who worked very hard for Yizhaq, whose devotion was boundless during the contest for nomination for the prime ministry. They believed in Yizhaq, in his leadership, in his style. Now they're stunned. I can sense the heavy feeling that has overtaken them. I've already talked to dozens of people today--from the party and outside it."



Bouquets of flowers arrive. Close friends leave after shaking hands and don't know exactly what to say. Leah Rabin helps them: "It will be alright. We've already been through difficult situations. We'll overcome."

If....

As we're left alone, she says almost to herself: "If the thing had happened to a private person... But here, we have a monumental issue, with such wide ranging implications, and it affects so many people..."

Question: Don't you feel a certain relief now, since Yizhaq has decided what he has about the future?"

Answer: The relief is perhaps only in that the heavy tension of 2 weeks has come to an end. But actually this is no relief. On the contrary--it's a heavy feeling stemming from a confrontation with the results of this disaster that has overtaken us.

The peak of tension was during the broadcast from the television studio Thursday night. Generally, I don't accompany Yizhaq during his appearances. This time he asked me to be at his side through the evening at his office and also at the radio and television studios. He wanted me to be a full partner in the decision. So I was with him. Those were difficult hours. We hardly watched the basketball game. We glanced at it occasionally, but our minds were on other things."

Question: "Do you feel as though your husband sacrificed his political career for what he terms 'the moral partnership' between you?"

Leah Rabin refrains from calling a spade a spade, but she responds indirectly.

Answer: "From a public standpoint, there was no escaping Yizhaq's decision. Although from a formal standpoint there was another way out: There was a symbolic indemnity on Yizhaq, while I was obliged to stand trial."

Question: "Although there is talk of joint responsibility--is there someone who is more to blame or less to blame in the maintaining of the Washington account?"

Leah Rabin is a practical woman, vigorous, correct, very orderly and very organized. Being married to a military man such as Yizhaq Rabin, she became accustomed to concern herself with the conduct of all current financial matters of the family and the household.

Answer: "Only where large expenditures are involved do I consult with Yizhaq. And at times, difficult as that is, I drag him to the store so he can help me decide on purchases... But he is by nature detached from all practical matters of the home. He knows very little about prices. His demands, regarding acquisitions and food, are very modest. These are not topics which interest him, so that he was always completely neutral on money matters.

"And regarding the bank account in Washington: I was the one who kept the account active. Yizhaq did not draw checks, just as in this country too he doesn't draw them. In general he doesn't even carry pocket money."

And Yet...

Question: "And yet...."

Answer: "If there is any kind of an uncomfortable feeling that we can call a guilt feeling regarding the bank account--Yizhaq is taking them upon himself. But I tend to blame myself more than he is prepared to and I also tend to think that I should have been more careful on this issue."

Question: "How did he react when the matter first become public information?"

Answer: "Yizhaq didn't even scold me for not remembering to close out the account. We discussed the matter a great deal during the past weeks and again he said to me: We're partners in everything and in this matter too--I'm not prepared to have them distinguish between us and say 'The bank account is Leah Rabin's'".

Question: "What did you spend money on from your Washington bank account?"

Answer: "Over the past 4 years since our return from Washington, I've been abroad 15 times, always on an assignment and mainly to the U.S. At times I stayed over in London at my expense. Sometimes I continued after the trip with visits to friends which were made at my expense, I bought gifts for us, for the children, and when you're abroad--the money flows..."

Question: "The reaction of many people, within the party and outside of it, to the revelation of the full partnership between you and to the conclusions which derive from it--between you and to the conclusions which derive from it--is that 'Rabin acted courageously' or that 'Rabin behaved like a real man.' What do you feel about his backing you up so fully?"

Answer: "What is publicly being called 'the manifestation of courage' is an external manifestation of what Yizhaq feels deep within his heart, that the partnership between us can not be broken up. That is something of which I am proud of him. Something that has crystallized between us over a long road of a life of sharing for almost 30 years. Our life has been full to overflowing with experiences and crises, with joyous occasions and with difficulties. One layer on top of another. Now the feeling is as if we have grown and bloomed together. The tie between us is strong indeed and I am hopeful that by mutual strength we will get over the current crisis. As to my feeling in relation to Yizhaq: I'm proud that he presented the matters as he did. In his decision he put focus on what has crystallized between us over our long road together."

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CSO: 4805

SURVEY OF SUCCESSES OF RABIN'S GOVERNMENT

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 30 Mar 77 p 17

[Article by Khanoch Smith: "A Survey Reveals That Rabin Did Well in Foreign and Defense Matters but Faired Poorly in Social Matters and Completely Failed on the Economic Score"]

[Text] In the 1973 elections the Alinement lost handily. Prior to these elections the labor parties received, together, approximately 50 percent of the votes, compared with about 25 percent for the traditional center parties. In the 1973 elections the edge of the Alinement shrunk from 25 to less than 10 percent.

Since the present political climate allows for more changes in voting patterns, the question is, did the government have the voters' support?

Those interviewed for the survey, conducted between 9-18 March, were asked a very direct question on this issue: Do you trust the government headed by Yizhaq Rabin and do you think it has done a good job in the past 2 and one-half years?

It is difficult to assess the meaning of the answers, but the same question was asked about Golda Meir's government in December 1973, shortly before the elections. Thus there is some room for comparison.

| | Rabin's government March 1977 | Meir's government December 1973 |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Definitely yes | 28* | 28 |
| Yes, with reservations | 19 | 30 |
| Not really | 23 | 24 |
| Definitely not | 23 | 14 |
| Other responses | 7 | 4 |

*all figures are in percentage points

If those who responded "yes, with reservations" are to be included among those trusting the government, then Golda Meir's government, following the Yom Kippur War and before the 1973 elections, was somewhat more popular than Rabin's government--58 percent compared with 47 percent. But two more details have to be taken into account. First, the proportion of those responding "yes" is equal in both surveys. In other words, support of Rabin is quite solid. Secondly, some of the erosion of his popularity may have stemmed from MAFDAL's becoming an opposition party. Nevertheless, the conclusion is that the credibility of Rabin's government is not as high as that of Golda Meir's government even after the Yom Kippur War.

The public's opinion on the government's activities is expressed in the following table, which compares the present survey with the December 1973 survey.

In your opinion, has the government succeeded, or has it not, in activities in the following areas (percentage points):

| | Yes | most of the time | Not so well | No | No opinion |
|--|-------|---------------------|-------------|------|------------|
| 1. Handling and development in the economic area | | | | | |
| 1973 | 15.0* | 34.0 | 40.0 | 7.0 | 4.0 |
| 1977 | 6.5 | 9.0 | 30.0 | 43.0 | 11.5 |
| 2. Handling of social problems | | | | | |
| 1973 | 7.0 | 28.0 | 51.0 | 13.0 | 1.0 |
| 1977 | 6.0 | 14.0 | 13.0 | 33.0 | 16.0 |
| 3. Handling of foreign and defense matters | | | | | |
| 1973 | 13.0 | 16.0 | 39.0 | 9.0 | 3.0 |
| 1977 | 23.0 | 30.0 | 19.0 | 11.5 | 17.0 |

These results portray a rather varied picture. Only 15.5 percent of those interviewed thought that the present government succeeded, or at least mostly so, on economic issues, compared with 49 percent in 1973. Generally such an attitude could topple the ruling party.

According to 20 percent or less, the government succeeded in handling social matters, compared with 35 percent in the previous survey. This too could endanger the ruling party. There are those who think that the Alinement lost votes in 1973 because of the social issue. Then, too, the majority thought that the government did not do a good job in this aspect.

On foreign and defense matters Rabin's government scored a relative success. Although it was supported by only 53 percent compared with 29 percent in 1973, it is a considerable success, relatively speaking, if we take into account that 17 percent were undecided this time.

Assessing public opinion we can thus come to the conclusion that the government succeeded in foreign and defense matters, did not succeed with social issues, and failed in its economic policy. This picture will be repeated when specific issues on the political scene are discussed.

When it comes to specific problems only those who think that the government succeeded or failed in a certain area will be considered. Those who thought success was partial or who did not have an opinion will not be considered. All figures are in percentage points.

Handling of social and economic matters

| | good or very good | poor |
|--|-------------------|------|
| immigration and absorption | 48 | 11 |
| corruption | 27 | 20 |
| aid to the poor | 21 | 32 |
| raising the standard of living | 20 | 28 |
| housing | 18 | 30 |
| integration and closing the ethnic gap | 15 | 29 |
| tax reform | 13 | 45 |
| inflation and price hikes | 8 | 59 |

Generally we find that public opinion does not think very highly of the government when it comes to most social and economic issues. It seems somewhat surprising that the public thinks that the government did well in immigration and absorption but failed in closing the ethnic gap.

It seems that corruption did not hurt the government much. It is possible that the resolute action against corruption that was made known, and the refusal of the government to cover up wrongdoing, gave it more support than it lost because of the revelations.

On all other social and economic issues the government is not credited with much success: Aid to the poor, housing and mostly tax reform and inflation. Few thought that on these issues the government did a good job, many criticized it.

In the area of foreign and defense matters the picture is much more positive (figures are in percentage points):

Foreign and defense Policy

| | Government did well | Government failed |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|
| Relations with the U.S. | 74 | 4 |
| Handling the Lebanese crisis | 57 | 7 |
| Striving for peace negotiations | 57 | 10 |
| Correcting the Yom Kippur War mistakes | 29 | 18 |

On relations with the U.S., handling the Lebanese crisis and striving for peace talks, the majority clearly think that the government succeeded.

Regarding one issue, learning the lessons of the Yom Kippur War, there is no clear majority and this may cause some erosion in support of the government.

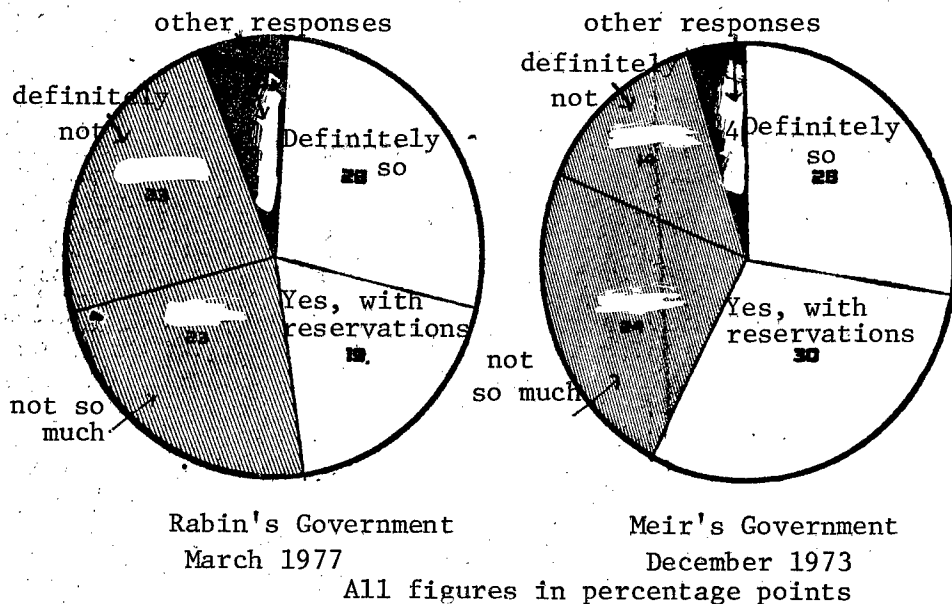
One more subject was brought up, the election reform, since it is one of the important issues that Yiga'el Yadin and the DMC party brought forth. This is the public's reaction to election reform.

| | |
|---|------------|
| A drastic election reform is needed | 38 percent |
| Some changes are needed | 14 percent |
| The present method should be maintained | 10 percent |
| No opinion, or think that the subject is not that important | 37 percent |

Hence, there is probably a clear majority in favor of election reform. As important as this finding is, it should be considered in the context of the elections as a whole, since it turns out that the election reform is an important issue for DMC supporters only.

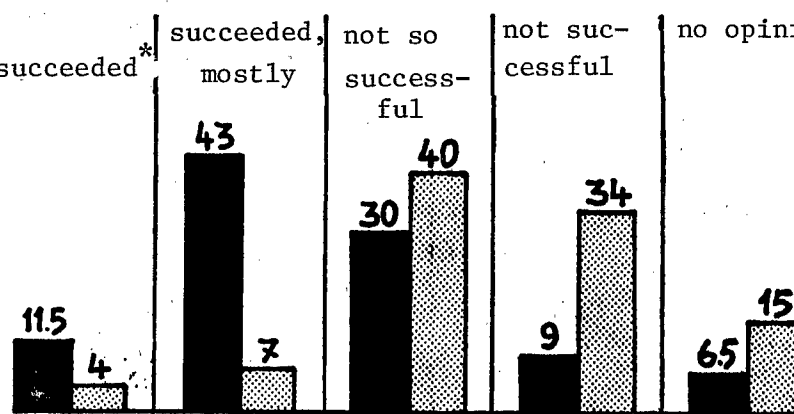
It has been shown how various opinions show up in the survey, on specific and general issues, on economic and social issues, as well as foreign and defense matters. Another article will examine the relationship between the various issues and political leaders.

Do you trust the government?

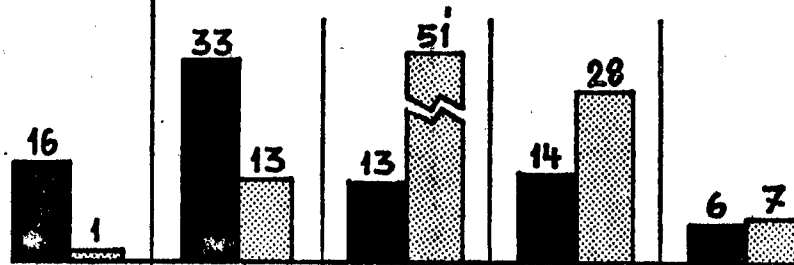


☐ Does the government succeed on the following issues?

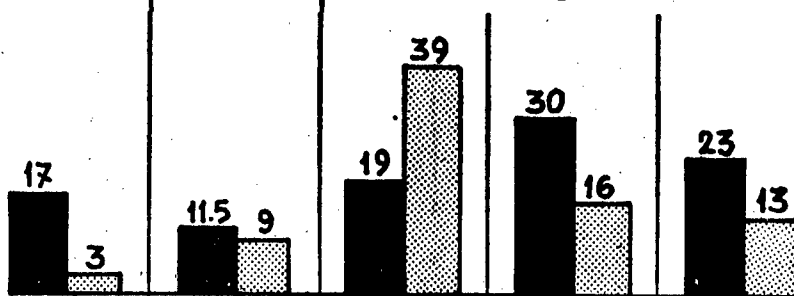
☐ succeeded* succeeded, mostly not so successful not successful no opinion



Handling of economic issues



Handling of social issues



Handling of foreign and defense issues

1973

1977

*All figures are in percentage points

In the first pre-election survey conducted for MA'ARIV, 1,200 voters of 36 localities throughout Israel, cities, towns, Kibbutzim, villages and minority villages, were asked: Do you think that the government has succeeded or failed?

The survey, based on the probability sampling method, was conducted between 9-18 March by "Smith--a Center for Research" under the direction of statistician Khanoch Smith.

A second survey is to be conducted in mid April and a third one close to election day.

Khanoch Smith analyzes the results of the surveys exclusively for MA'ARIV.